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TRAVELS TO TANA AND PERSIA,
BY BARBARO AND CONTARINI.

A NARRATIVE OF ITALIAN TRAVELS
IN PERSIA,
IN THE 15TH AND 16TH CENTURIES.



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TRAVELS

TO

TANA AND PERSIA,

BY

JOSAFA BARBARO

AND

AMBROGIO CONTARINI.



TRANSLATED FROM THE ITALIAN BY

WILLIAM THOMAS, CLERK OF THE COUNCIL TO EDWARD VI,

AND BY

S. A. ROY, ESQ.

AND EDITED, WITH AN INTRODUCTION, BY

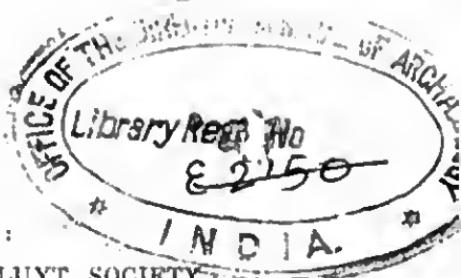
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PRINTED FOR THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE volume herewith given to the members of the Hakluyt Society, contains six narratives by Italians, of their travels in Persia about the time of Shah Ismail. Mr. Charles Grey, who has translated and edited four of these travels, having accompanied Sir Bartle Frere to Zanguibar, has been unable to finish the printing of his book, and the correction of his proofs has been entrusted to me. As all these travellers were almost contemporaries, and as they refer to one another, the council have thought it best to give them to members in one single volume.

Shah Ismail, or Ismail Sufy, is the chief personage in this volume; he found Persia in disorder, and reunited it; he revived the Persian nationality, and very much increased the division which existed between Persia and the rest of the Mussulman States; a division or schism which has been erroneously called religious, but which originally was national and political, and, as revived and augmented by Shah Ismail, entirely national. The feelings which animated the earlier Persians to reject the first three caliphs, were the national repulsion of the Persians to their Arab conquerors, and a preference for hereditary

succession instead of popular election. Shah Ismail took advantage of these national sentiments and dynastic traditions, without which Persia, overrun as it was by Turkish tribes, would have merged into the Ottoman Empire. Shah Ismail did his work so effectually, that Nadir Shah was unable to undo it, and was assassinated for attempting it ; and, though the greater part of the Persian population and the reigning dynasty at this day speak Turkish as their own language, yet they are as Persian in feeling as the Persian inhabitants of Shiraz and Isfahan.

Of the Italian travellers and envoys, whose narratives are here given, Josafa Barbaro is the most interesting personage : but none of them attract the same interest which attaches to Varthema, or to the Portuguese and Spanish travellers and voyagers of the same period.

The travels of Barbaro and Contarini have long been ready for publication, but have been delayed hitherto, for want of an editor. The work was undertaken by Sir Henry Rawlinson and Lord Strangford, but the former had not time to attend to it, and the latter died before he had really commenced it.

The translation of Contarini was done by Mr. Roy of the British Museum, who also made a translation of Josafa Barbaro, and a question arose whether Mr. Roy's translation, or the quaint old translation of William Thomas, should be published by the Society. I decided in favour of Thomas' translation, partly in deference to what I knew was the opinion in its

favour of Lord Strangford, on account of its interest as English of the time of Edward VI, shewing much better orthography than that current at a later period (Fanshaw's translation of Camoens for instance), and partly on account of the interest which attaches (especially to members of the Hakluyt Society) to Mr. Thomas and his unfortunate end.

Chalmers' Biography tells us that Mr. William Thomas was a learned writer of the sixteenth century, and was born in Wales, or was at least of Welsh extraction, and was educated at Oxford. Wood says, that a person of both his names was in 1529 admitted a bachelor of Canon Law, but does not say that it was this person. In 1544, being obliged to quit the kingdom on account of some misfortune, he went to Italy, and in 1546 was at Bologna, and afterwards at Padua ; in 1549 he was again in London, and on account of his knowledge of modern languages, was made clerk of the council to King Edward VI, who soon after gave him a prebend of St. Paul's, and the living of Presthend, in South Wales. According to Strype, he acted very unfairly in procuring the prebend, not being a spiritual person ; and the same objection undoubtedly rests against his other promotion. On the accession of Queen Mary, he was deprived of his employment at Court, and is said to have meditated the death of the Queen ; but Ball says it was Gardiner whom he formed a design of murdering. Others think that he was concerned in Wyatt's rebellion. It is certain, that for some of these charges he was committed to the Tower in 1553, together

with William Winter and Sir Nicholas Throgmorton. Wood says, "He was a man of a hot fiery spirit, had sucked in damnable principles, by his frequent conversations with Christopher Goodman, that violent enemy to the rule of women. It appears that he had no rule over himself, for about a week after his commitment he attempted suicide, but the wound not proving mortal, he was arraigned at Guildhall, May 9th, 1553; and hanged at Tyburn on the 18th."

Chalmers gives the following list of his works:—

1. "The History of Italy." Lond. 1549, 1561, 4to.
2. "The Principal Rnles of the Italian Grammar, with a Dictionary for the better understanding of Boccace, Petrarch, and Dante: *Ibid.* 1550, 1561, 1567, 4to."
3. "Le Peregrynne, or, a defence of King Henry VIII to Aretino, the Italian poet." MSS. Cott., Vesp. D 18, in Bodl. Library. This, Wood says, was about to be published in the third volume of Brown's "Fasciculins."
4. "Common Places of State," written for the use of Edward VI. MS. Cotton.
5. "Of the Vanity of the World." Lond. 1549, 8vo.
6. "Translation of Cato's speech, and Valerius's answer; from the 4th Decade of Livy." *Ibid.* 1551, 12mo.

He also made some translations from the Italian, which are still in manuscript.

Mr. Thomas might have rendered further service to letters, instead of mixing himself up in conspiracies, had he received a favourable answer to an application which he made to Cecil, to be sent at the expense of the Government to Italy. A copy of his letter to Cecil, taken from the original at the Record Office, here follows:—

*To the right honorable S^r William Cecill Knight one of the
King's Mag. twoo principall Secretaries.*

S^r myne hnmble comndacons remembered According
to yo^r pleas^r declared nnto me at my departure
I opened to my L of Pemhroke the consideracon
of the warde which you procnred for yo^r Sister
wherein he is the hest contented man that may be
and made me this answer that thongh he wrote
at his friends request yet he wrote unto his friende
to he considered as it might he wth yo^r owne comoditie
and none otherwise ffor if he had knownen so much
before as I tolde him he wolde for nothing have
troubled y^e wth so unfriendly a request Assuring yo^a
faithfully that I who have knownen him a good while
nesver sawe him more bent to any man of yo^r degree
than I perceave he is unto yo^a and not without cause
he thanketh yo^a hertily for yo^r newes yo^a sent him
And S^r whereas at my departure we talked of Venice
considering the stirre of the worlde is nowe like to
be very great those waies I coulde finde in
myne hert to spende a yere or two there if I
were sent I have not disclosed thus much to any
man hnt to yo^a nor ontende not to do. wherefore it may
please yo^a to use it as yo^a shall thinke good Howe so
ever it he yo^r may be sure to commande me as tho
least in yo^a house. And so I humhly take my
leave. ffrom Wilton the xiiijth of Augnst
1552.

Yo^r assnredly to thntermost
WILLM THOMAS.

From the following extracts from the indictment,
and other records of his trial, taken from the Record
Office; it will be seen that he did conspire against

Queen Mary, and not only, as Ball supposes, against Gardiner.

Report of Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, iv, p. 248.

Pooch N°. xxx in the Record Office contains a file of 11 membranes, relating to the Trial and conviction of William Thomas for high treason. The Indictment found against him at Guildhall, dated 8 May, 1 Mary, 1554, charges that, he hearing of the proposed marriage between the Queen and Philip, Prince of Spain, had a discourse with one Nicholas Arnolde, late of London, Knight, as to the manner in which such marriage coold he prevented or impeded, upon which the said William Thomas pnt various argnments against such marriage in writing, and afterwards, to wit 21 Decem-
ber, 1 Mary, at London, in the parish of St Alhan, in the ward of Cripplegate, the said William Thomas compassed and imagined the death of the Queen:

And afterwards, on the 22^d December, in order to carry his wicked intentions into effect, he went into the house of the said Sir Nicholas, in the parish of St. Bartholomew the Less, in the ward of Farringdon Without, and there had a traitoroos discourso with the said Nicholas, to the following effect:—"Whether were it not a good 'devise' to have all these perils that we have talked of, taken away with very little bloodshed, that is to say, by killing of the Queen. I think John Fitzwilliams might be persuaded to do it, because he seems by his countenance to be so manly a man, that he will not refuse any peril that might come to his own person, to deliver his whole native country from so many and so great dangers, as be offered thereunto, if he might be made to understand them"; which words the said Sir Nicholas, afterwards, viz., 24 December, at London, in the parish of St. Anne, in the ward of Aldersgate, repeated to James Croftes, Knight, one of the conspirators with Sir Thomas Wyatt, a traitor who had been attainted for levying war against tho Queen, whereof the said James Croftes was also attainted.

And the said William Thomas, not contented with tho before-mentioned treasons, in order more fully to fulfil such his imaginations, 27 Decembor, went from Loudon to Devonshire, to a place called Mount Sautrey, then inhabited by Peter Caro, Knight, with which Peter Caro, an abominable traitor, the said William Thomas had a traitorous conference and consultation, and then and thare aided the said Peter Caro; and afterwards, to wit, 4 February, fled from Mount Sautrey, from county to county, in disguise, uot knowing where to conceal himself; and yet he did not desist from sending seditious bills and letters to his friouds, declaring his treasonable intentious, in order that be might induce them to joiu him in his treasons.

Membrane 1, Weduesday, 9 May, 1 Mary, Loudon.

Record of Sessions, held at Guildhall, before the said Sir Thomas Whyte, and his fellows setting forth.

1 May, 1 Mary, Loudon—Special Commission of Oyer Termiuer.

8 May, 1 Mary, Londou—Iudicment as before mentioned.

William Thomas, being brought to the bar by the Coustable of the Tower, pleads Not Guilty.

Venire, awarded instaunter.

Verdict, Guilty.

Judgmeut as usual in eases of Higb Treason.

Execution at Tyburn.

Record delivered into Court, by William, Marquis of Winchester, on Mouday next, nster the Octaves of the Holy Trinity, 1 Mary.



TRAVELS OF JOSAFA BARBARO.

TO THE KINGS MOST EXCELLENT MAIR.

WHAN I consider the state of foreyn cuntryes, and do compare this yo^r Ma^s realme to the rest of the worlde as well for justice and civilitie as for wealth and commodities, I do so much rejoice in my cuntry that as I do yelde contynuall and most hertie thanks nnto God for His goodness unto us that are born in it, so I wisko all other Englishemen to do, seeing that nombers thore be who, puffed np wth wealthe, wote not why they whyne. For undoultedly if the wbole worlde were divided into ix partes, as the quarter of the spheare is into nynetie degrees, and that viii of those ix partes shuldo be indged to he evill cuntryes, the ixth parte only remaining good, this realme of Englanço must needes be taken into that one good parte for all respects. The heat is never extreame, and the colde soldome fervent, hecause we are little further than mydde waye between the sunne and the northe. We have grayne of all kindes necessarie, fysbe, fowle, and fleshe, and some fruities. The sea environeth the cuntry, to serve us both for carieng out of our owne hahundance, and also for fetching of strange commodities hither, in such sort as beside the nedeful we wante nothing to serve us for pleas^r. Our justico cannot be amended if the faulte bo not in the ministers. The subiects are the King's children, and not sklavos, as they he otherwbeare. And finally o^r civilitie is groat, and woldo be p'fct if some monnes barbarousenes did not nowe and then cor-

rupt it. So that w^{ch}ont affection me seemeth, I may by good reason advanne my cuntrey for goodness to be one of the hest p'ts of that ixth parto if it shulde be divided againo. For the better proof whereof to thentent it may appeare what harbaronse people are in other regions, what wante of good foode they have, what miserable lyves they leade, what servitude and suhietion they endure, what extremities of heate and colde they suffer, what snp'stitione they folow, and what a nombre of other inoonveniences do hange npon them, the least whereof is ferre from ns.

I have thought good to translate out of the Italian tonge this litell hooke, written hy a Venetian of good fame and memorie, who hath travailed many yeres in Tartarie and Persia, and hath had greate experience of those p'tes, as he doth sufficiently declare, which I determined to dedicate unto yo^r Ma^s as vnto him that I knowe is most desirouse of all vertueuse knowledge. Trusting to God yo^r shall longe lyve and reigne a most happie king ovor a blessed country, most humbly beseeching yo^r highnes to accept this poore newe yeres gift, heing tho worke of myne owne hande, as a token of the faithfull love that I am bonnde to heare vnto yo^r as well naturally as through the speciall goodnessse that I have foende in yo^r.

Yo^r Ma^s most hounden Servant,

WILLM. THOMAS

[Here beginne the things that were seene and
herde by me, Josaphat Barbaro, citizen of Venice, in
twoo voiages that I made thone vnto Tana
and thother into Persia.]

THEARTHE (as the geometricians by evident reasons do provo) is as little in respect of the firmament, as a pricke made in the middest of the circumforence of a circle; whereof by reason that a great parte is either covered wth water or olse intemperate by excessse of heat or colde, that perte wchich is inhabited is by a great deale the lesser perte. Nevertheles, so little is the power of men, that fewe havo been fonndo that heve seene any good porçon of it, end if I be not deceaved, none et ell that bath seene the whole. In our time those that bave seene some parte most comonly are macheuntmen or maryners, in which two exercises from the beginneng vnto this daie my Lordes end fathers the Venetiane heve beene and are so excellent that I holieve they may verylie be called the principell. For eyns the deacie of the Romaine estate (that sometime ruled over all) this inferior worlde beth been so divided by diversitie of lan-guages, customes end religion, that the greetest parte of this littlo that is enhabited shulde have been unknowen, if the Venetian merchandise and marinership bed not discovered it. Amongst whom, if there be any that have seene ought at this daye, I mey reaken myself one: eeing I have spent ell my yo^wthe and a great parte of myno age in ferro countries, amongst barbarouse people end mon wthout civilitie, much different in all things from our customes, wheare I have proved and seeno many things that, because they he not vsed in our parties, shulde seem fables to them (as who

INTRODUCTION OF JOSAFAT BARBARO.

woldo saie) that were never out of Venice. Which in dede hath been the cause that I have not much foroed either to write or to talke of that that I have seen.

Neverthelesse, being constrainyd through the reqneste of them that may comande me, and considering that things which seeme more incredible than these are writyen in PLINIO SOLINO, POMONIO MELA, STEABONE, HERODOTI, DIODORO, DIONISIO HALICARNASSE, and others of late as MARCO PAULO, NICOLO CONTE, our Venetians, and John Mandevile the Englisheman: and by other last of all as PIETRO QUIRINI, ALVISE DA MOSCO, and AMBROGIO CONTARINI, me thought I coulde no lesse do than write the things that I have seen to the honor of God that hath preserved me from infinite dangers and to his contenteron that hath required me; the rather for their proffitt that in tyme to come shall happen to travaille into the pties wheare I have beeene, and also for the comoditie of o' noble citie in case the same shulde hereafte have occasion to sende those waies. Wherfore I shall divide my wo'ke into twoo partes. In the first wherof I shall declare my voyage vnto Tana, and in the seconde myne other voyage into Persia, and speake little of the perills and troubles that I endured, myself.

The yere of o. Lorde mccccxxxvi I beganne my voyage towardes Tana, wheare for the most parte I contynewed the space of xvi yeres, and have compassed all those cuntryes as well by sea as by lande not ouly wth diligence, but in maner curiously.

The plaine cuntrye of Tartarie to one that were in the middest thereof hath on the east the ryver of Ledil, on the west and northwest parte POLONIA, on the northo Russia, and on the sowtho partes towards the sea called Mare Maggiore, the regions of Alania, Cumania, and Gazaria. All which places do confyne vpon the sea called Tabacche; and to thentent I be the better vnderstanding, I shall declare it partly by the costes of the Sea Maggiore, and partly by

Lande to the ryver called Elice, which is within xi miles of CAPHA: and passing that ryver it goeth towards MONCASTRO, wheare the notable ryvrs of DANUBE rounesth. From which places forwardes I woll spenke of nothing because those places ars familiar and knowne well enough.

The countrey of ALANIA is so called of ths people Alani, which in thsir tonge they call As. These have bsen Christen men, and were chased awais and destroied by the Tartares.

In that region are hills, ryvrs, and plaines: whearo are to bo seone an infinite nombre of little hills forcod in signs or steede of sepultures, and on the topps of evorio of them a great stons wth an hole: wherein standoth a crosse of one peece mads of an other stons.

In uno of these little hilles we were psuaded thsre shuld be hidden a great treasure. For in the tyms that MR. PIETRO Lando had besns consnl at Tana, there came one named GULBEDIN from EL CAIRO, wheare he had learned of a Cairo is the great Tartarien woman that in one of these little hylles called est citie in Contebe,¹ the Alani had hidde a great treas^e. And for Egyp. proofe thereof the woman had given this man certain tokens as well of the hill as of the grounde. So that this Gulbedin entrsprised to maks certin holss or pittes like wells into this hill in divers places; and having so contynnsd the space of twoo years he died: whereby it was iudgod that only for lacke of habilitie he coulde not brings this treasure to light. Wherefore viij of us merchant men being togither in Tana on Saint Catherines night the ysre 1437, fell in reasoning howe this matter might be brought to passe. Ths names of thoss merchants were FRANCESCO CORNARO, brothsr vnto JACOMO CORNARO of the banke, Catarino Contarini, who afterwrds vsed to CONSTANTINOPLE. Giovnn Barbarigo sonne vnto ANDREA of CANDIA. Giovan da Valls, thnt died msstor of ths fooyste in the Lake of Garda, and that with certain other Venetians the yere 1428 went vnto Dserbenthe wth a

¹ Kum tepeh, or sand mound.

fooyste that he had made, and there by appointment of the Lordo of that place; spooyled certain shippes that came from STRANA, which was a marveilouse acte. Moises Bon, sonne to Alessandro of Judecca, Bartolomeo Rosso, a Venetian, and owner of the house in Tana that we were in at that tyme, and I the vijth. In effect three of this companie having heene at the place before, psuaded the rest that the thinge was faisible, so that we agreed and bound ourselfs both by othe and by writing, made by Catarino Contarini, the copie whereof I have yet to shewe, to go digge this hill; whereupon the mattir being thns concluded, we hired cxx men to go wth us for that purpose, vnto whom we gave three ducates a peece for the moonthe. And eabout viij daies astro we vij wth or oxx men departed from Tana, wth stuff, vittaills, weapons, and instruments ncessarie, which we caried vpon those zena that they use in Russia, and went vp the ryver on the yse, so that the next daie we arryved at the place, for it standeth neere the ryver, and about lx miles distant from Tana. This little hyl is l^{de} paces high and is plaine above, on which plaine is an other little hill like a ronnd honett, compassed about wth a stone so large that ij men a fronte may walke on the hryme, and this little hill is xii paces high. The hill hylowe was round as if it had been made wth a compasse, and was lxxx paces by diameter.

After all things were readie we heganne to cutt and digge on the plaine of this greater hill, which is the beginneng of the little hill, entending to make a large waie to enter into the botome: hut the earthe was so hards frozen that neither wth mattockes nor yet wth pickaxes we conldo well break it. Nevertheles, after that we were a littls entred we founde thearthe softer, so that we wrought meetely well that daie. But whan we reto'ned the next morneng we founde thearthe so herde frozen that we were constrained to forgoe our enterprise, and to reto'ne vnto Tana; determineng nevertheles to come thither again an other tyme.

About thende of Marche we retoo'ned thither by boates and little vessolls wth cl men, which beganne to digge of newe. So that in xxij daies we mado a waie of lx paces longe, viij paces hrode, and x paces high. Nowe shall yo^u hear wonders and things almost incredyble.

We founde all things as it had been tolde us before, which pntt vs in the more compforte of the rest. So that the hope of finding of this treasure made vs that had hyred the laborers to carie the barowes better than they: and I myself was master of making of the harowes. The great wonder was that first next vnto the grasse thearho was blacke. Than next vnto that all was ooles, bnt this is possiblo, for having willowes enough there by, they might easilie make fyre on the hill. Vnder this were asshes a spanne deep—and this is also possible; for having reades there by which they might hurne, it was no great matter to make asshes. Then were there rynds of MIGLIO an other proportion of miglio wolde fmrnishe that quantitie to cover such an hill of so great a breadth wth tho onlie ryndes thereof for a spanne deepe? Under this an other spanne deepe were skales of fishe as of carpes and such other. And hicauso it may he saied that in the ryver there are carpes and other fishe enough whose skales wolde suffise to cover such an hill, I referre it vnto the reader's iudgment wheather this thinge either he possible or like to be trewe: and yet do I tell it for trewe. And do consider besides that he which caused this sepulturo to be made being named Indiabu, mynding to vse all these ceremonies which pchaunce were used in those daies, did think on it longe before: and mado all these things to be gathered and laied togithor by some processe of tyme.¹

Miglio is
a graine
almost as
small as
mustard
seed.

¹ See Haxthauseu, vol. ii, cap. xxi, for descriptions of these Tumuli.

Thus having cutt in and finding hitherto no treas^{re}, we determinyd to make ij trenches into the great hill of iij pacee in breadeth and height. This doon we founde a white harde earthe into the which we mado steppes to carie up ths barrowes by. And so being entred v. paces deeper we founde in the botome certain vessols of stone, some of them wth asshes, some wth coles, some emptie and some full of fishe back bones. We fonnde also v or vi beadestones as bigge as oranges made of bricke and covered wth glasse such as in the marke of ANOONA they used to plaine wth all. We founde also halfe the handle of a little ewer of sylver, made with an addere hedde on the toppe. Finally in the passion week thornt windes beganne to blowe so vahsmtly that it raysed thearthe wth the stoanes and cloddes that had been digged and threwe them so in the workemens faces that the blowddo folowed. Wherfore we determined to leave of and to prove no further; which we did on the Easter Monday after.

This place was before called the caves of Gulbedin, but after our d^rigging there it hath beene called the cave of the FRANCHI, and is so called vnto this daie. For the worke that we did in those few daies is so great, that it eeemeth a man coulde skarsalie have done it in so shorte a tymo. And yet we had no certaintie of this treasure, but (as we coulde learne), if therbe any treas^{re} the canse why it shulde be hidde there was that Indiabn Lordo of the Alani hearing that Themp^r of the Tartares came against hym; for hydeng of his treasure feigned to make his sepnlture after thsir custome, and so conveighong thither secretlie that which seemed him good, he aftsrwardss caused this litell hill to be made npon it. The faith of Macomett beganne to take place amongo the Tartariens about an C^h yeres past. In dede some of them wsro Macomottanes before, but everie man was at his libertio to bsieve what hym best liked; so that somo worshippsd ymags of woode, and of ragges, which

The Tar-
tares call
in maner
all nations
of Europe
franchi.

thoy carried on their carts shont with them. The beginneng of Macometts faith was in the tyme of Hedighi capitaigno of the people of Sidahameth Can Empero^r of Tartarie. This Hedighi was father vnto Naurus, of whom we shall speake at this present.

There reigned in the champaignes of Tartarie the yere 1438 an empero^r called Vlumahumeth Can; that is to saie, the great Macomett empero^r, who, having alreadie reigned certain yeres, and being in the champaignes towards Russia wth his Lord^l (that is to saie, his people), had this Naurus as his capitaigne, sonne vnto Hedighi before named, by whose meanes Tartarie was constreigned to receave the faith of Macomett. Betwene this Nanrus and 'Thempo', ther happened such a discordo, that Naurus wth such people as woldo folowe him left him, and went towards the river Ledil vnto Chezimameth, that is to say Little macomett, one of the hlondde of thother emperor, and there agreed wth both their forces to go against Vlumahumeth. Wherevpon thoy tooke their waie by Citerchan into the champaignes of Tumen, and coming about by Circassia they went towards the ryver Tana, and towards the golfe of the sea called Tabacche, which, with the ryver of Tana, were both frozen. And because their people was great and their beastes innumerable, therefore it behoved them to go the more at large to thentent they that went before shulde not destroio the grasse, and other such thinges as served for the resfreshsing of them that came astre. So that the formost of this people and cattail were at a place called Palastra whan the hindermost were at a place called Bosagaz (which signifieth grayye woodde), on the river of Tana, the distance between which two places is oxx myles, which space of grounde this foresaid people occupied, though in dede they were not all apt to travaile.

We had newes of their comyng iij moonthes before. But

¹ Ordu, camp.

& moneth before this Lordes arryall there beganne to come towarde the Tana certain skowltes, being younge men, iij or iiiij on horsebacke, eche of them wth e spare horse in hande. Those that came into Tana were called before the consulre and well entreated. But when they were examyned whither they wont end whet was their busynes, they answered they were younge men that went about for their passetyme, and more coulde not be had of them. And they never taried passing an howre or twoo, but that they goon againe, and so it contynewed daylie, seving their nombre did somewhat more and more encrease. But whan this Lorde was wthin v or vi iorneys of Tana than they begane to come by xxv and l^{as} togither, well armed and in good ordre, and as he drewe nearer they encreased by the hundrethes.

Mosches
is the
name of
the Mac-
comet-
tanes
church.

At length he came himself, and wes lodged in en anncient MOSCHEA, wthin en arrowe shoot of Tena. Incontinently the consulre determined to send him presents, and sent him a NOUENA, an other to his moother, end en other to NAURUS, capitaigne of the ermie. NOUENA is called a present of nyne divers things, as who wolde saio sylkes, skarlette end other such to the nombre of ix. For such is the maner of presenting the Lordes of those pties. So there was caried vnto hym breade, wyne made of honye, ale and other divers things, to the nombre of ix: and I was appointed to go wth all. Being thus entered into the MOSCHEA, we founde the Lordo lyeng on a carpett, leenyng his hedde vnto NAURUS, he himself being of the ege of xxij, and Naurus xxv. Whan I had presented the things that we brought, I recomended the towne, wth the people, vnto him, and telled him that they were ell et his cōmandement: wherevpon he answered wth most gentle woordes, and astre looking towardes me beganne to laughe and to clappe his handes together, saieng, beholde what a towne is this, wheare as iij men have but iij eyes, which he seid, bicause BURAN TAIA-

PIETEA, our TURCIMANNO, had hnt one oye; Znan Greco, the Turci-
consules servant, one other eyo; and he that caried the ^{Turcimanno}
wyne of honye likewise but one. And than we tooke o' leave, ^{an inter-} preto.
and departed.

And hicause some woll skarse thinke it likely that, as I
have saied, the skowltes shnld go hy iij, by x, xx, and
xxx, through those plaines x, xv, and sometime xx iorneys
before the people; constrewing whareof they might lyve.
I answero that every of them which so departe from the
people carieth wth him a hottell, mado of a goates skynne,
full of meale of the grayne called MIGLIO, made in past wth a
litle honyo, and hath a certain litle dishe of woodde, so that
whan ho misseth to take any wylde game (whereof there is
great stere in those champaignes which they can well kyll,
specially wth their howes) than taketh he a litle of this meale,
and putting a litle water vnto it maketh a certein potion, of
the which he feedeth. For whan I have asked some of them
what thinge they lyve vpon in the champaigne, they have
asked me again, Why do men die for hunger? as who wolde
saie, If I may have wherew^wa sleightlie to susteigne the
lief, it suffiseth me. And, in dede, they passe their lyves
well enough wth herhes and rootes and such other as they
can gott, so they wante not salte. For, if they lacke salte,
their mowthes woll so swell and fester that some of them die
thereof: and in that case they cōmonly fall into the fluxe.

But to roto'ne wheare we lefte, whan this Lorde was de-
parted than this people wth their cattaill folowed. First,
heardes of horses hy lx-c.cc, and more in an hearde. Afre
them folowed heardes of camells and oxen, and afre them
heards of small beastes, which endured for the space of vi
daies, that as ferre as wo might kenne wth o' eyes the cham-
paigne, every waie was full of people and heasts folowing on
their waie. And this was only the first parte; whereby it
is to be considered what a much greater nombre shulde he
in the myddle parte. We stood on the walles (for we kept

Peloponnesus is
nowe
called
Morea.

the gates shutt), and thevening we were weerie of looking, for the multitude of those people and heasts was such that the dyameter of the plaine which they occupied seemed a PAGANIA of oxx myles. This is a Greeko woerde that I learned in MOREA, heing in a gontloman's house that hrought an o plowemen in wth him: every one of them wth a staffe in his hande. The maner of this people was, that they went in ordre a rowe, one distant from an other an c paces, strikeng on the arthe wth their stafes, and sometime throwing foot^e the a w^onde to raise the game, for the which the hunters and fawkeiners, some on horsehacocke and some on foote, wth their hawkes and dogges, waited wheras they thought hest; and whan their tymo came lett their hawkes flee or their dogges renno, as the gamo reqnired. And amongst the other game that thei hunted there were ptridges and certain other birdes that we call hethcockes, which are shorttailed like an henne, and holde np their heades like o' cockes, heing almost as great as pecocks, which they ressemble altogether in colo^r, saving in the tayle. And, by reason that Tana standeth between litle hills and hath many ditches for x miles compasse, as ferre as wheare tho olde Tana hath hoene, therefore a great nombro of those fowle and game fiodde amongst those litle hilles and valeys for sncor; insomuch that about the walls of Tana and wthin the ditches were so many pertriches and hethcockes that all those places seemed rich mennes poulties. The boies of tho towne tooke some of them and solde them twoo for an aspre, which is viij haggatims of ours a peece. There was a freere at that tyme in Tana called freere Thermo, of Saint Fraunces order, who (wth a birdeng nett, making of ij cereles one great and stickeng it out on a croked poll wthout the walls) tooke x and xx at a tyme, and with the selling of them gate so much mooney as hought him a litell boye, CIRCASSO, which honamed Pertriche, and made him a freore: and all the night thoy of the towne wolde leave their wyn-

This is
scarce an
English
halfpeny.

dowss open wth a certain light in it to allure the fowle to flee vnto it. Sometimes the hurtes and other wilde heastes woldo reune into the houses and in such nouhres, that almost it is not to he holiened : hut that heppened not neere vnto Tana.

From the pleine throng which this people passed, it did well appeare that their nomhre was very great, and so many that at a certain place called BOSAGAZ, wheare I had a fissiong place about xl miles from Tana, the fisshers telled me that they had fished all the wynter, and had salted a greate quantitiie of MORONI and CAULARI, and that certain of this people cōmyng thithor hed taken ell their fishe, aswell freshe es salte, and all their CAULARI, end all their salte, which was as bigge es that of SIEVIZA, in such wise that there was not a crome of salte to be founde after they were goon. Thei hrase also the pipes end harells, and tooke the harell stafes wth them, perchaunce to tryme their cartes withall. And further, they brake iij litle mylles there made to grynde salte, only for covetousenes of that litle yron that was in the myddest of them. But that which was doou to me was cōmon to all other. For ZUAN DA VALLE, who had a fissiong there also, hearing of this lordes cōmyng, digged a greate diche, and putt therein about xxx herrells of caniari and to the entent it shalde not he pseaued, when he had covered wth earth agenin, he hurned woodde npon it : hut it availed not, for they founde it and left not a iote therof.

This people carie wth them iunumerable certes of twoo wheeles higher than ours be, which are closed wth mettes made of reades, and pte covered wth felte, parte wth clothe, if they appaigne vnto men of estimacion. Some of these cartes carie their houses vpon them which are made on this wise. They take a cercle of tymber, whose dyemoter is a pase and en halfe, crossed wthin foo'the wth other halfe cercles: betwene the which they hestowe their mattes of reade, and than is it covered wth felte or cloth, according to the

habilitia of the parson. So that whan they ledga thay take downe these howses to lodge in.

Two daisas after that this Lorda was d parted, certain of the towne of Tana came vnto me, willing me to go to tha wallas, wheare one of the Tartaras taried to speake wth me. I want thither and founde one that tolda me howe EDELMUGH, tha Lordes brother-in-lawe, was not ferra of, and desired (if I coulda ha so contented) to entre vnto the townna and to ha my ghest. I askad licence of the consule, which heing obteigned, I went to the gate and receauad him in wth iij of his companya. For tha gates were all this whila kept shutt: I had him to my hawse and made him good cheare, specially wth wyn, which pleased him so well that he taried twoo daisas wth me: and haing disposad to daparte entreated me to go wth him, for he was hecoma my brether; and, wheare as he went, I might go saufaly; and so spake soma what to tha merchantts, whereof thara was neno there, but that ha wondered at it.

So, heing determined to go wth him, I tooke wth me twoo Tartariens of the townna on foete: rede on horsebacka myself, and about tha iij^{do} howre of the daie sett forwarde. But ha was so dronke that the blondde ranne ent of his nosa; and whan I welda psuade him not to drynka se much, ho wolde maka mowes like an apa, saieng, Letto me drynke; when shall I finda eny more of this?

By tha waie; it behoved vs to passa a ryver which was frozan over; and being alighted, I endeavorad myself to go wheare the snowe was on the ysa. But he who was overcome wth wyn, going whaareas his horse liddo him, chaunced on tha ysa in divars placis wheare no snowa was, by reason whareef the horse was nowo up, nowa downa, astra which sorta ha contynawed tha thirde parte of an howre. Finallia, being passed that river, wo came to an other water, and passed it, wth mnch a deo, astre the like maner: so that, being wearied, he rested him wth cortaiu of the people that

lodged there: wheare we taried all that night, as yll provided, as may he thought. The next morneng we rode foote, though not so lustylio as we had due the daie before, and when we weare passed an other arme of the foresaid ryver: following the waie that the people travailed (which were over all as a meyny of ants) wthin two daies iorney, we approached vnto the place, wheare the Lorde himself was: and there was my condnetor much honored of all men, and fleshe, hreade and mylke, wth other like things given him: so that we wanted no meate. The next daio folowing coveting to see howe this people rode, and what order they obserued iu their things, I did eee so many wonders, that if I wolde pticulerlio write them, I shoulde make a great volume.

We went to the Lordes lodging, whom we founde vnder a pavilion wth innnumerale people abont him. Of the which those that desired audience kneeled all separate one from an other, and had left their weapons a stones caste off ere they came to their Lorde. Vnto some of them the Lorde spake, and demauding what they wolde, he alwaies made a signe to them wth his hande that they shulde arise. Whereupon thoy wolde arise, hnt not approache eight paces more till they kneeled againe: and so neerer and neerer till thoy had audience.

The justice that is vsed throughout their campe is verie soddaine, afstre this maner: Whsn a difference groweth betwene partio and partie, and wordes multiplied (not afstre the maner of o^r quarters, for these do vse no violeuce), thei both or moo (if they he moo) arise and go what waie they thinke good: and to the first man of any estimacion that they meeete they saie: Master, do vs right, for we here are in controversie, whervpon he tarieth and heareth what hoth ptios can saie: determineng therevpon what he thiuketh hest wthout further writing, and what so ever he determineth is accepted wthout any contradiction. For vnto these iudgements msny

psons assemble, vnto whom he that maketh the determinacion saith yo^e shal he all witnesses, with which kinds of iudgements the campe is contynnally occnped. And if any like difference happen by the waie they observe the verie same ordre.

I did see on a daie (being in this Lordo) a treene¹ dishe overwhelmed² on thearthe: vnder the which I founde a litle loofe haken: and demannding of a Tartarien that was by me, What thinge it was, he answered, It was pntt there for HIRACH-PERRS, that is to wete for the Idolatres. Why, q^d I, are there Idolatres amongst this people? O, oh, q^d he, that there he enongh, but they are verie secret.

To nomhre the people surely, in my iudgement, it was impossible; hut to epeake according to myne estimacion, I believe, vndonhtedly, that in all the Lordo whan they came togither there were not so fewe as ccc thousand ps ons. Thie I saie bocause VLU MAHUMERI had also parte of the Lordo, as it hath heen reheareed before.

The hablemen are verie valiannt and hardie, in such wise that some of them for their excellencie are called TULUBAGATOR, which eignifieth a valiaunt foole: heing a name of no lesse reputacion amongst them than the eernames of wisdome or heaultie wth ve, as Peter, ec., the wiseman, Panle, eo., the goodly man. These hane a certein preemynence that all things they do (thongh partly it be against reason) are reckened to be well doon: because that proceeding of valianntnes it seemeth to all men that they do as it best becometh them. Wherefore there he many of them that in feates of armes esteeme not their lyvcs, feare no perill, hnt stryke on afore to make waie wthout reason: eo that the weake harted take cowraige at them and hecome also very veliaunt. And this eername, to my seemyng, is verio con-

¹ Treene or Trein, i.e., wooden.

² Baron Haxthausen mentions a somewhat similar custom as still existing among the Russian peasants.

venient for them: hicause I see none that deserueth the name of a valiaunt man, hut he is a foole in dede.¹ For, I pray yo^u, is it net a folie in one man to fight against iij? Is it not a madnes for one wth a knyfe to dispose himself to fight againt divers that hane swoardes? Wherofore to this purpose I shall write a thinge that happened on a tyme while I was at TANA.

Being one daie in the streato, thero cams certain TAR-TARIENS into the towne, and saied that in a litle woodde not past iii miles of there were about an cth horsemen of the Circasses hidden, entending to make a roade even to the towne, as they were wonte to do. At the hearing whereof I happened to be in a fletchers shoppe, wheare also was a Tartarien merchaunt that was cōme thither wth SEMENZINA, who, Semen-zina is a certain kinds of druggo. as soone ahe hearde this, rose vp and saied, why go we not to take them? howe many horses he they? I answered, an o. Well, said he, we are five, and howe many horses woll yo^u make? I answered, xl. O, q⁴ he, the Circasses are no men, hut women: let us go take them. Wherepon, I went to seeke Mr. Frauncs, and tolde him what this man had saied. And he, alwaies laugheng, folowed me, asking me wheather my hert serned me to go. I answered yea; so that we tooke o^r horses and ordeyned certain men of ons to come hy water. And about noone we assanlted these Circasses, being in the shadowe, and some of them on sleepe, hnt by mishappe a litle before arryvall, our trumpett sowned: hy reason whe'of many of them had tyme to es- kape. Nevertheles, we killed and tooke abont xl of them. But to the purpose of these valiaunt fooles, the hest was that this Tartarien wolde needes have had ns folowe them still to take them: and seeing no man offer uuto it, ranno afre those that were eskaped himself alone, crieng Noi

¹ Tulubagator is Tulu Bahadur; Bahadury means swaggering or boasting. The Russian word Bogatir is supposed to be derived from Bahadur.

MAHE TOENA.¹ And about an howre after, retorne d lamenting wonders much that he coulde take never a one of them. Beholde, wheather this were a madnesse or no, for if iiiij of them had retorne d they might hane hewen him to peecs, for the which whan we reproved him, he laughed vs to skorne. The skowtes here before menþioned that came before the campe vnto Tana, went alwaies beforo the campo into viij costes to descrie if there were daungier any waie.

As soone as the Lorde is lodged, incontinently they vnlaide their baggaige, leaving large waies betweene their lodgings. If it be in the wynter the beastes are so many that they mako wondrefull mooyre: and if it be in somer spreading muoh dust. Incontinently, afstre they hane untrussed their baggaige they make their ovens roste and hoyle their fleshe: and dresse it wth mylke, hutter, and cheese, and most comonly they are not wþout some venyson, or wilde fleshe, specially redde dcore. In this armie are many artisanes, as clothiers, smythes, armorers, and of all other craftes and things that thou neede. And if it ehnld be demaunded wheather they go, like the Egiptians or no?² I answer, no. For (saving that they are not walled about) they seeme verie great and faire cities. And to this purpose, as I reto'ned on a tyme to TANA, on the gate whereof was a very faire towre, I saied vnto a Tartarien marchant that was in my companie: who earnestly behelde this towre, howe thinkest thou, is not this a faire thinge? Bnt he, smiling, againe answered, he that is uearde huylde th towres: wherein me seemeth he said trewly.

And becauso I have spoken of merchaunt men, reto'ning to my purpose of the armie, I saie there he alwaies merchauntes which carie their wares divers waies though they passe wth the Lordo, onteuding to go otherwheare. These

¹ From the text it seems this should be translated: "whilst we cried to him, you will never return, you will never return."

² This perhaps is one of the earliest occasions of gipsies being mentioned.

Tartariens are good fawkeners, havo many jerfaulcones, and their flight is much to the CAMMELEONS, which is not vsed wth vs.¹ They hunte the harte and other great heastes also. These hawkes thou cario on their fistes, and in the other hande they haue a crowcho:² which, whan they be weerie, they leane their hande vpon. For one of these hawkes is twiso as bigge as an egle. Sometimes there passoth over the armie a flocke of gheese, to the which some of the campe shooce certein croked arrowes vnfeathered, which, in the ascending, hurle abowt breaking all that is in their waie, neckes, leggs, and whinges: and sometymo there passe so many that it seemeth the ayre is full of them: and than do the people showte and crie wth so extreame a noyso, that tho gheese astonied wthall do fall downe. And bicause I am ontered into talking of byrdes, I shall here rehearse one thinge that I thinke notahle. Rideng through this Lordo, on the banke of a litle ryver, I fonnde a man that soemed of reputacion talking wth his serūnt, who called me vnto him and mado me alight, demaunding of me wheareabouts I went. I answered as the case required, wherevpon, looking aside, I pceaned beside him iij or v tesells:³ on the which were certain lynettes; he furthwth did hidde hym dresso it: so that the serūnt tooke him, qnickely pulled him, made a broche of woode, rosted him and retorne d wthall vnto his m^t, who tooke it in his hande, and beholding me, said: I am not nowe,

¹ The text is: uccellano a camelioni che da noi non s'usano.

² There are many of these crutches to be seen in the bazars and houses at Constantinople, but the use and object of them is forgotten. They are still used in Persia.

³ Tessels, or tassels, for tiercels, a term for a hawk; the text is: & viddi appreso di lui, quattro ouer cinque di quell' herbe, che noi chiamiamo garzi: sopra le quali eran' alcuni cardellini.

wherees I mey shewo the thet hono' and conrtesie that thoⁿ mearitost, hnt of such as I hane thet God hath sent me we wolde make mearie; and so tooke the linett in his hande, brake it in three partes, gave me one, eete an other himself: end the ij^{ds}, which was verie litle, he geve vnto him that tooke it. Whet shall I saie of the great and innumer-
able moltitude of heastes thet are in this Lordo? Shell I he believed? But, he as it he may, I hauo determinyd to tell it. And, heginneng at the horses, I saie there he meny horsecorsers which take horses out of the Lordo end carie

*Carauana
is a com-
pany of
mer-
chauntes
with their
merchandise,
as-
sembled
to go
stronge-
ly to-
githers.*

them into divers places: for tbere was one CARAUANA that came into Persia er I deptd thense, which hrought iiiij thonsend of them; whereof ye neede not to mervaille, for if yoⁿ were disposed in one deie to hie a thonsande or ij^{ml} horses yoⁿ shaldis finde them to sell in this Lordo, for they go in heerdes like sheepe, and as they go, if yon saio to the owner I woll haue an cth of theso horses he hath a staffe wth a coller on thends of it, and is so connynge in thet feate that it is no sooner spoken, hut he heth streight cast the coller about the horse necke, end drawnen him out of the hearde: and so by one end one which he lyst, and as many as yoⁿ hidde him. I heve divers tymes mett theso horsecorsrs on the waie wth such e nomhre of horses as haue covered the champaigne, that it seemed a wonder. The countrey hreedeth not verie good horses, for they he litell, hane great bealies, end eate no provander: and whan thei he brought into Persie the greatest praise yoⁿ can give them is, thet they woll eate provander: whout the which they woll not endure any labo' to the purpose. The seconde sorte of their heastes is oxen, which are verie faire end greet, and such e nombre wthall, that they serve the shemblos of Italie, being sent hy the waie of Polonie, and some throughg Velacchia into Transilvania, and so into Allemaigne, from whenso they ere brought into Italie. The thirdo sorte of heasts that they have are camells of twoo honches, great end rowghe, which

they carie into Persia, and there sell them for xxv ducats a pecce: whereas they of theast haue hut one honche, are litle, and he solde for x ducats a pece. Their iiijth kinde of heasts are sheepe, which he unreasonable great, longe legged, longe woll, and great tayles, that waie about xij^l a pece. And some such I haue seene as haue drawen a wheelo astre them, their tailes being holden vp. Whan for a pleas^r they haue been put to it, with the fatt of which tayles thou dresseth all their meates and serueth them in stocde of butter, for it is not clammye in the mowthe.

I wote not who wolde verifie this, that I shall saie nowe¹ if he haue not seene it. For it may well be demanned whereof shulde so great a nombre of people lyve travailing thus every daic! wheare is the co'ne they eate? wheare do they gett it? To the which, I that haue seene it, do answere on this wise. About the moonoth of Fehruarie they make proclamaçons thronghont the Lordo, that he which woll sowe shall prepare his things necessario against the mooneth of Marche, to sowe in such a place. And such a daie of that moonoth they must take their waie thitherwards. This doon, they that are mynded to sowe prepsre themselvs, and heing agreed togither, lading their seeds on cartes² wth such cattail as their husynes require, togither wth their wiefs and children or parte of them they go to the place appointed, which most cōmonly passeth not ij io'neys from the place of the Lordo wheare the crie is made. And there do they eare, sowe, and tarie, till they haue furnisshed that they came for, which doon they reto're to their Lordo.

Thempo', wth the Lordo, doth this meane whilc, as the mother is wonte to do wth her children. For whan she letteth them go plaine she over keepeth her eyo on them, and

¹ Nowe; i.e., enough.

² In Wallachia the villagers go in their carts to a distance from their village and from any water, and plough and sow the ground, and return again in the same way to gather in the harvest.

so doth he never departe from these plowemen iij io'neys, bnt compassesthe about them nowe here, nowe there, till the corne he rype, and yet when it ie ripe he goeth not thither wth his LORDO, hnt sendeth those that eowed it and those that mynded to hye of it wth their cartes, oxen, and camells, and thoso other things that they need ; even as they do at their villaga.

Theartho is fertile, and bringeth fo're the 1^{de} bussbells wheate for one of eede : and their hnsshell is as great as the PADOUANE. And of MIOLO they haue an o for one ; and sometimoe thei hano so great plentie that they leano no small qnantitye in the feolde. To this prpose I shall tell yo^u, Thero was a sonnes eonne of VLUMAHUMETE, who, having raled certain years, fearing his consyn Cormayn that dwelled on the other side of the ryver of Ledil, to thentent ha wolde not loose such a parte of his people as must haue goon to this tyllage, which they conlde not haue doon wth out their manifest perill, be wolde not suffer them to sowe ia the space of xj yeres. All which tyme they lyved of fleshe, mylke, and other things. Nevortheles, they had alwaies ia their tavernes a little meale and PANICO : hnt that was verie deero. And whan I asked them howe they did, tboy woldo answer that they had fleshe; and yet, for all that, he at length was drivon awaie by his said consin. Finallie, VLUMAHUMETH, of whom we spoke afore, whan ZIMAHUMETH wae arryved neere vnto his confines, seeing himself unhablo to resist, leste his Lordo and fledde wth his children and others, by reason whereof Zimahnemoth hecame empero^r of all the people: and went to wards the ryver of TANA in the mooneth of Jnno, and passed the same about ij daies io'ney above Tana wth all that nombre of people, their cartee, and cattail : a mervailonse thinge to believo, bnt more wonderfull to heholde. For they passed all wth out any rumo^r, and as easo as if tbey had goon hy lando. Their maner of possaige ie this. They that are of the most substanciall seade of their folkes afore, who mako

cortein zattere¹ of drie woode, whereof there is plontie alonge Zattere
 the ryver. They also make certaine bondells of softe reades, so tied
 which they putt vnder their zattere and vnder their cartes, other,
 and so tye the same to their horses, who swymong over the ^{arr polles} that thei
 ryver (guyded by certaine naked men) passe the hole com- synke.
 panie afstre this maner. Abont a moneth astro, rowing vp
 the water towarde a certein fisshong place, I mett wth so
 many zatteres and bondells comyng downe the water (which
 this people had lett go), that we coulde skarsclie passe, and
 besids that I did see so many zatteres and bondells on the
 banks, that it made me to wonder. And whau we rrived
 at the fissheng place we founde that these had doon much
 worse there than those that I haue wrten of before. And
 bicause I woll not forget my freends yo^a shall vnderstando
 that EDELMULGH, the empo^ra brother in lawe before named,
 came unto TANA, nnd his sonne wth him, and soddainelie em-
 braced me, snieng, here I haue brought the my sonne, nnd
 incoatinontly tooke a cassaeko from his sonnes backe and
 putt it vpon me, wherewth he gave mo also viij sklaves of
 tho nation of Rossia, snieng, this is parte of the praye that
 I haue taken in Rossia. In recompenceo whereof I presented
 him wth convenient things again, and so he tariod wth me ij
 daies. Some there be that, departing from others, thinking
 never to moete again, do easylie forgett thir amitie, nnd so
 vse not thos curtesios that thy ought to vse: wherein, by
 that litle experiance that I haue had, me seemeth they do
 not well. For, as the eaieng is, mountaignes shall never
 meate, but men may. In my reto'neng out of PERSIA wth the
 Ambassador of ASSAMBEI,² willing to pnsse through Tartarie,
 and so through POLONIA to cōme to Veniee (thongh at that
 time I went not through that wnie), it ehnuncced me to be in
 compnnie of divers Tartarien mrehaunts of whom I enquired

¹ Zattere is Italian for a platform, raft, or framework for sailors to stand on in harbour to work at the ship's sides.

² Hassan Bey Ak-Koyulu.

for this Edelmulg, and learned by signes of the phisonomie, and hy the name, that he which was given me by the fathor, as those Tartariens than telled me, was great wth thempo^r. So that if wo had goon further we must needes haue fallen into his handes. In which cace I am assured I shulde haue had no lesse good cheere of him, than as I hane made both to him and his father, hut who wolde haue belioned that xxxvth yeres afstre in so ferre distant cuntryes a Tartarion shuldo hane mett wth a Venetian? An other thinge I woll rehearse even to the same purpose. The yere 1455, heing

Rialto is
the mer-
chauntes
assem-
bling
place in
Venice.

Lordes
ouer the
night is
an office
of great
uctorite
in Venice.

in a vinteners seller in the Rialto, as I pvsed the seller in thone end of the same, I pceauod twoo men tyed in chaynes, which, by their countenancce, me thought shulde he Tartariens. I asked who they were, and they answered that they had beene sklaves of the Catelaines, and that, fleing awaie, in a litle hote, thoy were taken hy this vyntener, wherevpon I went incontinently to the SIGNORI DI NOTTE, and declared this matter, who by and by sent officers thither, brought them to the cote, and in the vintoners presonce delivered them, putteng him to his fyne. Thus I gato them loosed, and had them home to my house, and askong them what they were and of what cuntryc; thone of them answered, he was of Tana, and had been serunt to Cazadahuch, whom I had knownen well, for he was thempo^r custumer over all things that came vnto Tana; so that, regarding him more advisedly, me seemed to remembre his face, for he had heen many tymes in my house. I asked him what was his name. He answered, Chehechzi, which signifieth a bultor of meale. And whan I had well hehelde him, I saied vnto him, doest tho^s knowe me? Ho answerod, no. But, as soono as I mentioned TANA and JUSUPH (for so they called mo there), he fell to theartho, and wolde hane kissed my feete: saicng vnto me, tho^w hast saved my lief twies, and this is thono of them, for heing a sklavo I rekenod myself deade, and thether was whan Tana was on fyre,

thow madest an hole in the wall, through the which so many creaturee escaped, amongst whom was I and my m^r both. And it is true, for whan Tana was sett on fyre, I made an hole in the wall forneagaint a certein grounde wheare many persons were assembled: throagh the which thore issaed aboue xl, and amongst them this felowe and CAZADAHUCH. I kept these twoo Tartariens in my house abont twoo moonethes, and when the shippes departed towardes TANA I sent them home. Wherefore, I saie that departeng one from an other, wth opinion never to reto're into those pties againe, no man ought to forgett his amitie as thongh they shuld never meeete, for there may happen a thousande things that, if they chaunce to meeete againe, he that is most hable shall haue neede of his succor that caa do least. Nowe, to reto're vnto the thiags of Tana. I woll describe it by the west and northwest, costing the sea of Tabacche to the going foorth on the leste hande, and astro some parte of the sea callcd MAGGIORE, oven to tho Provinco named Mengleria. Departing than from Tana abont the foresaid coste of the sea, iij jo'neys wthin lande, I founde a region called Chremach, the lorde whereof is named Biberdi, which signifieth given to God; he was sonne vnto Chertibei, that signifieth twelve Lorde. He hath many villaiges vnder him, which at a neede woll make a thousand horses, faire champaignes, many good woodes, and ryvers plentie. The principall men of this region lyve by robbing on thos plaines and speciallie on tho roberie of the carouanes that go from place to place. They are well horsed, valiannt men, and snbtill witted, but not verie gryme of visaige. They hane corne enongh, fleshe, and honye, but no wyne. Beyonde these are cuatreys of divers languages, though not much different one from an other; that is to witt, Elipehe, Tatarcosia, Sobai, Chenerthei,¹ As Alani, of whom I haue spoken here before. And these renne aloagest even vnto Mengleria² for the space

¹ Kabarda.² Mingrelia.

of xij io'neys. Mengleria confyneth wth Caitacchi, which are neere the mountaigne Caspio, and wth parte of Giorgiana, and wth the sea Maggiore, and wth the monntaigne that passeth threngh Circassia, and hath on thone side a ryver called Phaso that compassest it and falleth into the sea Maggiore. The Lorde of this province, named Bendian, hath two walled townos on the foresaid sea, one called VATHI and an other SEUASTOPOLI, and hesides that divers other piles and stronge houses. The cuntrey is all stonie and barayn, wthout any kinde of grayne, saving PANICO. Salte is hrought vnto them ont of Capha.. They make a litle cloth, hut it is hoth course and naught: and they arr heastly people. For proof whereof, heing in Vathi (where one Azolin Squarciafige, a Genowaie, arryved in companie of a PARANDESIA of Turks that went thither wth us frem Constantinople), there was a yongo woman stode in her doore vnto whom this Genowaie saied SUMNA PATRO NI COCON? which is, mistres is the good man wthin? meaneng her husbande. She answered, Archilimisi, that is to witt, he woll cōme anon. Whereupon he swapped her on tho lippes and shewed her vnto me, saieng, he holde what faire teetho she hath: and so showed me hor hreast and touched her teatcs, which she suffered wthout moving. Afterwardes, we entred into her house, and sate ns downe, and this Azolin fayneng to haue vermyn ahont him heckened on her to searche him: which she did verie diligentlie and chastely. This, meane while, the good man came in, and my companion pnt his hande in his purse, and saied PATRON TETARI SICA, which is as much to saie as, m^r, hast thew any mooney? Whcrevnto he made a countenaunce that he had none about him: and so he tooko him a fewo aspres, wth the w^{ch} he went streight to byo some vittaills. Within a whilo after, wo went through the towno to sporte vs, and this Genewaie did every wheare after the maner of that cuntrey what pleased him wthout rcpreche of any man, wherchy it may appeare weather they be beastly people or

no, and therefore the Genowaines that practise in those pties vse for a proverbe to saie, Thou art a Mongrello, whau they art disposod to saio thou art a foole. And nowe, bicanso I hane saied that TAETARI signifieth mooney, I hane thought good to declare that TETARI properlie signifieth white, and by this they understande syluer mooney, which is white, for the Greeks also call it aspri, w^{ch} signifieth white, the Turkes AKCIA, which signifieth white and in Venice in tyme past, and yet to this present we haue mooney called BLANCHI, in Spaigne also they hane mooney called Bianche. Whereby it may appeare howe many nscons agree in their languaige to call one thinge by one maner of name.

Reto'ning hacke to the Tana, I do passee the ryver wheare ALAMA was, as I hause saied before, and so discurre hy the sea of Tabacche, on the right hande, going foo'tho even to the Isle of Capha, wheare is a straict of the lande that knitteth the Ilo wth the mayne lande, liek vnto that of MOREA, which is called ZUCHALA. There are verie great salt springes, that of itself being dried woll becomo pficte salte. Costeng this ilando, first on the sea Tabacche is the cuntrey named Cumania, of tho people Cumani. After that is the hedde of tho isle wheare Capha standeth, in the same place wheare Gazzaria hath heen. And yet to this daio the Pico, that is to saie, the yarde whcrewth they measure at Tana, and in all those pties is called Pico ne GAZZARIA. The champaigne of this Ilo of Capha is vnder the Tartariens domynion, who haue a Lorde called Vlubi, sonne of AZICHAREI. They are a good nombre of people hable at a neede to make iij or iiiijth horses; they hane twoo places walled, hut not stronge, thone whereof is called Sorgathi, which they also called IN-CREMIN, that signifieth a forteresse; and tho'ther Cherchiarde, which signifieth xl placis. In this ilando, first at the mowthe of tho sea Tabacche, is a place called Cherz, which wo call BOSPHORO CIMERIO; next to that is Capha, Saldaia, Grasui, Cymbalo, Sarsona, and Calamita. All at

Chersone-
sus.

this present vnder the great Turke, of the which I neede to saie no more, bicause they are knowon well enoughe. And yet me tbinketh it necessarie to declaro the losse of Capha, as I learned it of one ANTONY DA GUASCO, a Genowais, who was present there, and fledde by sea into GIOROLANA, and from thense into Persia, the same tymo that I happened to be there, to thentent it may be knownen astre what maner this place is fallen into the Turks hands. In that tyme there was a Tartarien Lorde in the Champaigne named Eminachbi, who had yerely of them of Capha a certein tribute as the custome of the cntry there is. Betweene him and them of Capha there happened variaunce, insomuch that the CONSULE of CAPHA, being a Genowais, determined to sende vnto the tempo^r of Tartarie for some one of the bloudde of this Eminachbi, by whose favo^r he tbought it possible to expell Eminachbi out of his astate. And baving therewpon sent a shippe vnto Tana wth an ambassado^r, this ambassado^r went into the Lordo and there obteigned of the tempo^r one of the bloudde of this Eminachby, named Menglieri, promiseng to conduct him to Capha, and that if the towne wolde not accept this appointement than to sende Menglieri backe again. Eminachbi, mistrusteng this matter, sent an ambassado^r vnto Ottomanno, promiseng him that if he wolde sende an armie by sea to assaulto tho towne he would assault it by lande, and so shulde Capha be the Turkes. Ottomanno being desirouse thereof sent his armie, and in shorte space gate the towne, in the which Menglieri was taken, and sent to Ottomano, who kept him in prison many yeres. Not longe after Eminachbi, throngh the Turks yll conversaçon, repenting him of giveng the towne to Ottomanno, prohibited the passaige of all vittailles into the towne, by reason whereof they had so great skarsetie of corne and fleshe that they rekenod themselves in maner besieged. Whcrewpon the Turke was psuaded that if he sent Menglieri to Capha, keeping him wthiu the towne in cur-

teise warde, the towae shulde hsae plontie: for Meaglieri was welheloned of the people w'hoat. And so Ottomanno did; so that, as sooaē as it was knownen that he was arrived, incontinently the towne had plentie of all thiags, for ho was also heloaed of the townesmen. This msn thns remaincng in curteiso wardo went wheare ho wolde w'hin the towne; and one daie amoagest other, there hspeaed a game of shooting for a prise. The maner whe'of is, they hoage on certein polles sett vp like a galowos, a holl of sylver tied only wth a fyno threedo. Thoso nowe that shall shoote for the prise shoote thereat wth forked arrowes and arr on horsebaike, and first must galopp vnder the gallowes, so that heing in his full carier passed a certein space, he turneth his bodie and shooteth hackewarde, the horso galoping still awsywsrde, and he that after this sorte cutteth tho threede wynneth the game. Menglieri, findeng occasion vpon this to escape, appointed an o horsemen (wth whom he had intelligence before) to hide themselfs the same dsie in a litoll valey not ferre from the towne, aad fayaeng to renne for the game he made awsie to his companie; wherevpoa the force of all the whole iland folowed him: hy reason whereof, he being waxed etronge, went to Surgathi, a towne vi miles from Capha, and took it, aad so having slayne Eminachhi, made himself Lordo of all those places. The yere folowiag ho determiae to go towards Citerchan,¹ a place xvi io'neys distant from Capha, vnder the domynion of one Mordassa² Can, who in that tyme was wth his Lordo vpon the ryver of Ledil. He fought wth him, tooke him and tooke his people from him: a great parte whereof he sent into the Ile of Capha, and so shoade the wynter on that ryver. At which tyme, hy chaunoe, there was an other Tartarien Lordo lodged a fewe io'neys of, who, hresing that he wyntered there, whan the ryver was frozea camo on him soddainely, assanlted him, aad discomfited

¹ Hajy Terkhan or Astrakhan.

² Murteza Khan.

him, and so recovered Mordassa that had been kept prisoner. Menglieri being thus discomfited, returned unto Capha in yll ordre. And Mordassa, wth his Lordo, came the next springe even to Capha, and made certein roades to the dammaige of the ilande. But, seing he coulde not hane the towne ylden vnto him, he too ned hacke. Nevertheles, I was enformed that he was making of a newe armie to come againe into the ilande and to chace Menglieri awaie, as it proved after in dedo; bnt hereof sprange a false rumo^r, through thignorance of them that vnderstande not whereof the warre amongst these Lordes proceadeth, not knowing what difference is hetwene the great Can and Mordassa Can. For they, hearing that Mordassa Can made a newe armie to retorno vnto the ilande, hruted that the great Can shulde come by Capha, awaie against Ottomanno, purposeng hy the waie of Moncastro to entre into Valachia, into Hungarie; and so, wheareas Ottomanno was behinde the ilande of Capha; which standeth on the sea Maggiore is Gothia, and afstre that Alania, which goeth hy the ilande towardes Moncastro, as I have saied before.

The Gothes speake dowche, which I knowe hy a dowcherman, my serūnt, that was wth mo there: for they vnderstode one an other well enough, as we vnderstande a furlane¹ or a florentine.

The furlane and
florentine

differ but
in phrase
of speeche
from the
Venetian.

.. Of this neighbo'hoode of the Gothes and Alani, I suppose the name of Gotitalani to be deryved, for Alani were first in this place. Bnt than came the Gothes and conquered these cnntreys, myngleng their name wth the Alani, and so being myngled togither called themselves Gotitalani, who, in effect, folowe all the Greekish facons, and so also do the Circassi.

And hicanse we hane spoken of Tumen and Cithercan, thinking good to write the things there wo'thio of memorie, we saie that going from Tumen east northeast ahont vij

¹ Furlane; *i. e.*, of Forli.

io'neys, is the ryver Ledil, whereen standeth Cithercan, which at this p'nt is but a litlo towne in maner destroied; albeit, that in tymo passed it hath been great and of great fame. For, before it was destroied by Tamerlano, the splices and silko that passo nowe through Soria came to Cithercan, and from thense to Tana, wheare vj or viij galeys only were wouto to be sent from Venice to fetche those spicos and silkes from Tana; so that, at that tymo, neither the Venetians nor yet any other nacion on this side of the sea costes, vsed merchaundise into Soria. The ryver Ledil is great and large, and falleth into the Sea of Bachu about <sup>xxvth Mare Caspiu is
nowe called
Bachu myles distant from Cithercan, and as well in that ryver as in the sea arr innumerable fisshes taken.</sup>

That sea yeldeth much salte, and yo^w may saile vp that ryver by io'neys almost as ferre as Musco, a towne of Rossia. And they of Musco come yeroly wth their boates to Cithercan for salto. There arr many ilandes and woodes on this ryver, some of which ilandes conteigne xxx myles in cōpassie. In these woodes arr great trees growing, which, being made holewe, serue for boates of one peoce, so bigge that thei woll carie viij or x horses at a tymo and as many men. Passing this ryver and going east northeast towards Musco, keeping the rivers side xv io'neys continuallie, arr innumerable people of the Tartariens, but to neng plaine northeast yo^w arryve at the confines of Rossia, at a litle towne called RISAN, which appertaigneth to a brother in lawe of John Duke of Rossia, and there they be all Christians afstre the rye of the Greekes. This countrey is verie fertyle of corne, flesho, honye, and divers other things: and their drynke is called BOSSA,¹ whch signifieth ale. There arr also many woodes and villages, and so passing a litle further yo^w come to a citie called Celona. The ene and other of both which townes arr fertified wth woodde, whereof also they buylde their houses, bicause there is small quantitie of stone to be

¹ Buzah, Turkish and Persian, a kind of beer; here it means Kwass.

founde thereabonts. Threo io'neys from thenso is the said towne of Musco, wheare the forenamed John Duke of Rossia dwelleth, throwgh the middost of which towne renneth the most noble ryver of Musco, and hath certein bridge over it: and, as I believe, the towne tooke his name of the ryver. The castell is on a litell hyll environed abont wth woodes. The habundance that they hane of corne and flesho may well be cōprehonded by this, that they sell not their fleshe by weight, bat by the eye; and surely they have iij^l for a marchetto. Yo^r shall haue lxx hennes for a ducat, and a goose for iij MARCHETTI. But the colde is so fervent in that cuntrey that the ryvers are frozen. In the wynter arr brought thither hogges, oxen, and other beastes, readie flayne, and sett vpright on foote as harde as stones, and in such nombre that he who wolde bye twoo hndred in a daie may haue them there. But they woll not be cnyt, for they arr harde as marble till they be brought into the stufes. As for fructes, they hane none, saving a fewo apples and nuttes and litle wylde nuttes.

Whan thay be disposed to travaile, specially any longe io'neys, they go in the wynter, for than is it frozen over all: and by reason thereof good travaileng, saving that it is colde, and than do they carie what they lyst with great easo vpon those sani which serue them as cartes seruo vs und or parties, we call them TRANOLI. But in the somer they darr not in maner go foo'the of their doores, for the vnreasonable mooyre and moltitnde of stingeng flies which come foo'the of so many great woodes as they haue about them: the greatest parte whereof is vnhabitable. They hane no grapes, but make them wyne of honye, and some make ale of miglio, in thone and other whereof they putt hoppes, which giveth a taste that maketh a man as doonye^l or dronken as the wyno.

Furthermore, me seemeth it not convenient to forgett the provisions that their foresaid duke made to brydle such

^l Dunny; i.e., stupid.

Marchetto is
not
worth the an
English
halfe-
peny.

Stufe is
an hote-
house.

Sani are
sleddes.

dronkardes, as throughe their dronkenesse neglected the working and doing of many things which shulde haue beene profitable for them. Ho made a cry that they shulde make neither ale nor wyne of honye, nor use hoppes in any thinge, and by this meane hath reduced them to good lyving, which hath contynned nowe for the space of xxvth yeres. In tyme passed¹ the Rossians paied trybute to Thempo² of Tartarie, hut nowe they haue subduc'd a towne called Cassan (which, in o^r tonge, signifieth a cawldron³), that standeth on the ryver Ledil, on tho leste hande as yo^r go towards the Sea of Bachu, v io'neys from Musco. This is a towne of great merchaundiso. Frem whense cometh the most parte of tho furres that are caried to Musco and into Polonia, Prusia, and Flandres, which furres come out of the Northe and Northeast, from the regions of Zagatai and Moxia, northerno cuntreys enhabited by Tartariens, that for the most parto arr idolatres; and so also be the Moxii. And bicause I haue had somo experiance of the things of the Moxii, therefore I entendo to speake somewhat of their faith and maners, as I haue learned.

At a certein tyme of the yere they vso to take a horso: which they laie alonge on the plaine. His iij feete hounden to iij stakes, and his heade to an other. This doon, cometh one wth howe and arrowes; and, standing a convenient distance of, shooteth towardes the hert so often, till he haue killod him. And whan the horse is thus deade they flaye him and make a bettell of his hide, vsing with the fleshe certein ceremonies: which, nevertheless, they eate at leingth. Than they atuse the hyde so full of straws, that it seemeth hele again; and in every of his legges putt a poce of woodde; and so sett him afoote againe, as thongh he were on lyve. Finally, they go to a great tree and thereroof cutt such a boewo as they thinkes best, and thoreof make a skaffolde

¹ Ramusio has the preceding clause here—"It may be twenty-five years ago."

² *Kazan* is Turkish for a cauldron.

whereon they sett this horse standing, and so wo'ship him. Offering sahles, armelynys,¹ menyvor,² martrons, and foxcs, which they hange on the samo treo, even as wo offer up can-dolls. By reason whereof the trees therio are full of sncf furres. This people, for the moro parte, lyve of fleshe, and the greatest parte thereof wilde floscho: and fishe they hane also in those ryvers. Nowe that I haue spoken of the Moxij I haue no more to saie of the Tartariens, saving that thoso which he Idolatrers worship Images that they carie on their cartes, thongh some there he that vse daylie to wo'ship that heast that they happen first to meete whan they go foo'tho of their doores. The duke also hath suhdued Novgroth, which iu o' tongue signifieth ix³ castells, and is a verio great towne, eight io'noys distat from Musco, northweast: which beforo tyme, was governed hy the pooplo; heing men w'hont reason and full of heresies. Nevertheles, hy litle and litle they arr nowe brought to the Catholike faith. For some helieue in dede, and somo belieno not; but they lyvo nowo wth reason and hano justice mynistred amongst them.

Departing from Musco yo^w haue xxij daics io'noy into Polonia, the first place whereof is a castell called Trochi:⁴ tho comyng wherenvto from Musco is through woodes and litlo hilles which he in maner deserte. It is truo that travaileng from place to placو, whereas⁵ other hauo lodged beforo yo^w shall finde wheare fyre hath heen made, and there tho way faring ps ons may rest and mako fyre if they woll: and sometimes a litle out of the waie yo^w shall finde somo small villaige: hut that is seldom. Likewise, departing from Trochi, yo^w findo woodes and hilles, hut sometimes houses amongc. And at thoude of ix io'neys from Trochi yo^w finde a walled towno called Lonici, and than do yo^w entor the re-gion of LITTUANIA, whcare thoro is a towno called Varsovich,⁶

¹ Ermines.

² Skins of grey squirrels.

³ Nove castelli; i.e., now castles.

⁴ Troki, near Wilna.

⁵ Whereas, used here, and at page 38, for wherein.

⁶ Ramusio prints Varsonich.

appeteynong to certein gentlemen, subiects of CAZIMIR, King of POLONIA. Tho cnntrey is fertile and hath many townes and villaiges, but not of any great accompte. From Trocchi into POLONIA arr vij io'neys, and the region is good and faire, and than finde yo^m Morsaga, a verie good citio, whearo Polonia endeth: of whose townes and castells, bicause I knowe them not, I woll saie no more. But that the king, wth hie children and all hie famylie, arr very Christian; and that his eldest sonno is nowo King of Boemia. Being departed out of Polonia wthin iij io'neys, we finde Frankforth, a citie of the Marquis of Brandenburgh, and so wo enter into Allemaigne: whereof I neede not to speake, hicause it is a cuntry in maner at home and knownen well enough. So that nowe therosteth somewhat to ho saied of GIORGIANA, which is forneagainst the place, here before spoken, and confyneth wth Mengrelia. The king of this province ie called PANCRATIO, who hath a faire cnntroy, plentyfull of hreade, wyne, flesho, graine, and many other fruictes; the mest parte of which wynes growe on trees, as that doth in Trabsonda, and the men arr faire and bigge, but they have very fylthie apparill and most vile customes. They go with their headeis rounned and shaven, leaving only a litle heare, afre the maner of our abbotts, that haue great revenewes, and they enffer their mostacchi to growo a quarter of a yardo <sup>Mostacchi
is the
berde of
the vp-
per lyppe.</sup> longer than their heardes.¹ On their headeis they were a litell cappe, of divers color^s, wth a creste on the topo. On their hakes they were certain garments² meetely lenge, but they he straito and open behinde downo to the bntocks; for, otherwiese they couldo not gett to horsehacke; wherein I do not blamo them, for I see the Frenchmon vse the liko. On their feeto and legge they were hootes or busgynes, made wth their soles of ench a sorte, that whan they stande, the heelis nnd the too too^mche the grounde, hut the plante of the

¹ Or: a quarter of an ell below their chins.

² Giubbe; i.e., jubbis.

foote standeth so bigh that yo^w may easelie thrust yo^w fyst vndernethe w^t bout hurting of it, wborof it foloweth that whan they go afoote they go w^t paine. I wolde in tgis parte blame them, if it were not that I knowe the Persians vse the same. In their feeding (as I bane seene tbexperience in the bouse of one of the principall of them) they vse this maner. They haue certain square tables of halfe a yarde brode, w^t a ledge rounnde about: in the myddest whereof they putt a quantitie of panico sodden, w^tbont salte or other fatt; and this they vse in steade of podaige. On an other like table they putt the flesbe of a wilde bore, so little brooylod that whan they cutt it the blondde cōmeth ont, which they eate very willingly. I coulde not awaie¹ w^t hall, and therfore drave foo^tbe the tyme w^t that podaige. Wyno we bad plentie, and thnt trugged² about Instilie: bnt oþor kindo of vittailies we had none.

There be in this province great monntaignes and many woodes. It hath a citie called Ziflis,³ by the which passeth tho ryver Tigris, and that is a good towne, well inhabited. There is also a towne called Gori, which confineth w^t the Sea Maggiore, and tgis is as much as I haue to saie toochng my voyago vnto Tana and those regions, togither w^t the things wo'tbie of memorie in those pties. And nowe it behoveth me, taking an oþor beginneng, to describo the seconde parte: wberein I shall declare tho tbings apptaigneng to my voiage into Persia.

¹ Endure, abide.

² The text of Ramusio has—E andava intorno alla polita.

³ Ramusio has—Tiflis.

[Here beginneth the Seconde Parte which
concerneth the voiage that I, Josaphat Barbaro,
made, as Ambassado^r into Persia.]

DURINO the warres between our most excellent Signoria and Ottomano, the yere 1471, I, being a man, vsed to travaile, and of experience amongst barbaronse people, and willing also to serue o^r foresaid most excellent Signoria, was sent awaie wth thambassado^r of Assambei, King of Persia: who was como to Veniee to comfort the Signoria to folowe the warres against the said OTTOMANNO.

We departed from Venieo wth ij light galeys, and afstre vs camo ij great galeys, well furnished wth men and municōns, besides other prosents that tho forsaide most excolent Signoria sent to Assambei: wth comission that I shuldo arrive in the cuntry of Caramano or on those sea eostes wheare, if the said Assambei shulde come or sende, I shulde give all these things vnto him. The proporcōn wae of artillerio, certein bombardes, springards, and hangonnes,¹ wth powder, shott,² waggens, and other yrons, of divers sortes, to the value of iij^m dneates. The souldeo^m were crossbowes and handgones: ee vnder the leading of iij conestables and one govorno^r, named Thomas of Imola, who had x men suffiently provided for every governaunco. Than were there presentes of vessell of syluer to the value of three thousando ducates; cloth of golde and sylke to the value of ij^m v^o ducates. Scarletts and other fyne wollen clothes to the value of iij^m ducates. And so being arryved in the Ile of Cyprus we entered into Famagosta, and there togither came before

¹ Schioppetti.

² Polvere da trarli.

the king, the Busshop of Romes¹ ambassado^r, King Ferdinandos ambassado^r, and we twoo, that is to weeto Assamhois ambassado^r and I, wheare enquireng wheather we might go sauf through the cuntry of Caramano into Persia, we founde that Ottomanno had gotten all the townes both on tho sea costes and w'hin lande. By reason whereof wo were constreyned to tarie a certein tyme in Famagosta. In which tyme (being desirouse to folowe on my iorney) I divers tymes, in companie of thamhassado^r of CARAMANO (whom I founde in Cyprus) went wth a light galey vpon the costes of CARAMANO: leaving thother ambassado^r behinde mo. And on one tyme amongst other, I arryvod in an haven, wheras standeth a certein castell calld Sigi, and there wo spake wth the Lorde of that place:² who, notwithstanding that he had lost all his fortresses, had yet about a cth horses and some people that went us vagahonds nabout tho cuntry, which did all folowe him.

This lordes elder brother³ was goon to Assembei for succor against Ottomanno, so that we, finding him of or affection, talked wth him; and in cōicacōn amongst other things reioiseng ho saied vnto vs, that he had waited for vs and shewed l^{te} from Assambei, willeng him to be of good compforte, for the Venetian armie shulde shortlie come vnto him; by whose helpe he trusted to recover his astate, specially tho places on the sea costes. Whereupon, I hearing that or armie shulde come into those pties, tooke order that our galoyes which remayned of Famagosta, should come to Sigi. This meane while I heardo that our generall capitaigno Mr. Pietro Mocenico, together with the Proveditor^r Mr. Vettorio Soranzo, and Mr. Stephano Malipiero, with tho other galeys and capitaignos werarryved in the haven of Curcho;⁴ wheare as is a faire castell of the same name. Whoreforo inconti-

¹ Ramusio has—Tho Pope.

² Ibid. has—named Cassanbeg. ³ Ibid.—named Pirameto.

⁴ Ibid.—which, according to the ancients, was Corycus.

nently I sent Augustino Contarini, the sopracomito vnto him; adviseng him that if he went about any enterprise I thought he shulde do well to come to Sigi, whearo I was, for that waye might he soonest obteigno victorie; howbeit, if he thought it not good, I was readie to folowe his comaundement. Sigi is but xx myles distant from Curcho; so that tho gencrall capitaigne having herde my opinion (notwthstanding he had alreadie hegenné his hatterie there) lefte of and came wth the armie vnto Sigi. In which armie were lv^{ies}¹ galeys besidcs the twoo light and twoo great ones that I had hrought that made up lx, all of o^f most excellent signoria, xvj galeys of the King FERDINANDOS, v galeys of the King of Cyprus, ij galoyes of the great M^r of Rodes, and xvj galoyes of the Busshopp of Romes,² which at that timo remained at Modone. So that in all they were nynetio and nyne galeys. On the which there were ccccxl hurses of onrs wth their stradiette,³ thit is to wete, viij in every galey, Stradiottes are
horsamen,
a Greeks. v galeys excepted, which in dede had no horse. As soene light as they arryved in the haven they landed their horses and a good p^{te} of the people, who mado themselves readie. The next daie folowing the cap^{te} sent for me, and told mo that tho castell seemed vnto him verie stronge; and by reason of the site in maner net expugnable, hecuse it standeth on the height of an hyll, and therefore asked myne opinion. I answered it was vndoubtedly very stronge, hut that, on thether side again, thcro passed not xxv good men in it to garde and defendo it, heing a myle in compasse; wherefore I made my rekenyng that folowing thentreprise wo shuldo soonc ohteigne it, he pawsed a great while and answered nothing, bnt whin two howres after he sent his admirall vnto mo, saying that ho was determyned to go through with thentreprise, bidding me to he of good compforthe. Wherepon I went streight to warne THEMINGA, a cap^{te} of

¹ Ramusio has—56.² Ibid. has—of the Supremo Pontiff.³ stratiotæ.

the caramane, who likewise reieyed much, and made me to declare it vnto his lerd, which I did; and so retorneng by THEMINGA came te e^r capitaigne that than travailed for the preparacion of thassaulto. The next morning sbout iiiij hennes of the day, Theminga tolde me there came one out of the castell te him, offering to yelde the castell if we welde save their persens and their goodes, which I declared to e^r capitaigne; and so was commanded by him to promise, by means of Theminga, that they and all theirs, wth their goodes, shalde he saufe, and that in case they were not disposed to contynewe there they shulde be sanfely conducted whither they wolde. Having declared this to Theminga, he wolde I shalda go speke wth the lorde of the castell; and se went to the gate, wheare, threng a little square wyndewc, I spake wth him, and, astre many weerdes, he concluded that upon this condicion rehearsed he wolde deliver the castell. Whereupon, the promise being made, he opened the gatcs and suffered me wth e^r Admyrall and three of e^r galeymen, wth e^r interprcto^r, to enter. I asked him wheare he welds be, he answered that he desired to go into Soria; and fer his mero suretie te he conducted wth his wife, children and goods by one of o^r galcys, which I promised him. And so incentinently he caused his geedes te he packed, whereof a great deal was made readie hefore, and he issned ont of the gate wth hall, and the rest of those that were in the castell astre him, which were to the nembre of clⁱe. psens in all, and descending dewnc the hyll mett wth e^r capitaigne that was comyng up wth a good nembre of galeymen to receaue the castell, which galeymen, neither for the cap^{me} commandement ner yet for thretenyng, welde ferbeare the spoyle of those geedes and persens, being not a litle grief to the capitaigne and prevcdito^r, and to all them that had vnderstanding, considering the faithful premise that had been made in their name. Thus having receeanced the castell I reto^rnod to the galey, and that ovenyng late the cap^{me} sent for me,

lamenting wonderfully the chaance that was happened, willing me to go to the capitaino of the Caramano to excuse him, and to declaro what I thought convenient touching the disobedience and rage of the galeymen; and what he further mynded to do, as well in their favo^r that had been robbred as against them that had committed the roherie. Thns heing returnod to the seaside, I founde myne interpretor wth an asse laden wth these goods, which I not only caused incontinently to be taken from him, hat also mado him to be well heaten. Than wcnt I to Theminga, cap^{ne} to caramano, and whan I had excused the matter as I was appointed, in conclusion I promised him the next daye following all thinges shulde he restored. He receane me thankfully, saeing that it greved him that the lorde of Sigi wth all his (being rebells vnto his lorde) had not heen slayne, wherefore seing he passed so litle vpon that which was happened, I salued the matter, saieng it was convenient we shulde observe o^r promiso mado vnto them, and that the thing so channced proceadod of the galeymennes furie sore against the capitaignes, proveditors, and all the sopracomites willes. Whan I was reto'ned vnto capitaigne, he comandned Mr. Vettor Soranzo, wth certain sopracomiti, to see the persons and goods taken contrarie to thappoinctm^r recovered. Whearevpon, early in the mor'neng, cries were mede vpon great penaltie that everio man shulde bringe on lande as well the persons as the goods so takon, and besides this the galeys wero dilygently searched. The persons were all founde, and a great pte of the goodes, whereof those of smallest valewo wero cast on a great heape, and such parte of it taken out as appertained to the Lorde, and likewise out of the sackes or elswhare all that was his was had ont, and all togither brought into the galloy of M^r Vettor Soranzo, the proveditor, hecanso the Lorde wth his wief were ontored into that galey, vnto whom all tho things that couldo be founde were presented. And for the rest of the peoples goodes they

were all assigned to their own captaigne, who made a cryo that every one shulde come foo'the and take his owne, and so they did. It was thought this lorde shulde havo no small treasure leste him by his father, and, as it appeared, what of preciouse stones, perles, goldo, sylver, and clothe, there were doseins of thousands ducates. For proof whereof one SOPRACOMITO, a Candiot, which had twoo eackes of the eaid goodes thone whereof he restorod, and caried thother wth him vnto Rodes: wheare he died; heqnethed vnto the eaid lorde in recompense of that which he had of his viij^e dncates. This doon, twoo of the same lordes hretherne came to hym into the galey, and wth divers reasons eo psuaded him, that he consented to reto'ne to lando againe wth all his; wheare, shortly after, the galeys being departed, they censed him to die; and, as though that had been bnt a small matter, thono of them also maried his brothers wif.

Tharmye reto'ned to Curcho, before named: and whan the men were landed the homhards were hestowed in their place to batter likewise that castell: in the which was a garryson of Ottomanos men, and there also was the Lorde CARAMANO arrivod wth his men: and having taken the first wall they yelded, bodie and goods saved: so that we tooko the castell and restored it vnto CARAMANO. Astre this I, wth certein of CARAMANOS company went to Silephica, a famo^{se} town^e likewise gotten hy Ottomano, and threatened them wthin; hut if they wolde not yelde the towne (for the wth their hodies and goodes shnldo he saved) they shulde be assaulted, and pchaunce whan they wolde yelde they shulde not he accepted, hnt he howcn to peeces: wherovnto I was answereed that I shnldo departe for that tyme in Godds name; and tho next mornyng they wolde eignifie vnto CARAMANO what their ontent was: which in effect proved so, for they hadde him come to receavo it, and they accordingly yelded. Vpon this our capitaigne, wth all tharmie, reto'nod

¹ Ramusio has—which was formerly called Scleucia; now Selefch.

into Cyprus, disposing themselves to abido necro vnto Famagosta, to take ordre for tho rule and governnace of that Ilando, bicause King James¹ happened to dye while we were in Cnramanos lande. And having establisshod all things well therlo, w'lin a fewe daies they went towardes the Archipelngo, Archipe-
lago was
sometime
Mare
Egeu. and I remigned in the havon of FAMAGOSTA with threo light galoyys and twoo great: togither w'th the constable and soulede^{rs} that were comitted vnto me by the most excellent SIGNORIA, wheare I trried n certein spaco. This, meane whilo, there arryved two galeys of King Ferdinandos, in tho which was tho Archebusshop of Nicosia, n Catelnine borne, and w'th him a messynger of the kings to treato of the mriage of a bastarde daughter of King James.² Amongst which practisces therlo happened one night n greet alarme, w'th ryngeng of bclles: insomuch that the busshop, w'th those that folowed him gnto the markett place and consequently the towne: and astre thnt had Circenes³ w'th tho rest in maner of all the Ilando at his cōmnndement. But o^r capitaignegenerall heiring of the pnsaigo of these twoo galeys, w'th the busshop eastwardes, suspected they went into Cyprus: and thoreforo sent M^r. Vettor Loranzo, the Provoditor, w'th x light galeys astre him: who nrryved at Famagostn, and founde one of the said galeys in the haven there, and astre longe reasonyng tho said busshop w'th his complices agreed to re-storo the towne and all that they had taken, and so to de-parto. Which doon, King Ferdinandos ambassado^r returned to Naples, and the Busshop of Romes remaigned still in Famagosta. I, w'th Assambeis ambassador, desirouse to furnishe my ioⁿney (having first sent bncke into Candia the twoo great galoyys, w'th thartillerio and presents before named, by appoinctoment of tho Signoria, who caused pto of it to remigno there, and parto to bo had againo to Venice),

¹ Il Re Zacho.

² Ramusio has here—with a natural son of the said King Ferdinand,

³ Ibid.—Cerines.

caased the souleers² to remaigne for the garrisen of Cyprus, and wth a light galey retorne^d to Curco, the eito whereof I shall nowe describe, hicanse I haue uot spoken of it before. This Carco standeth on the sea, and hath forneagainst it westwarde a rocke, the thierde parte of a myle in compasse,¹ on tho which heretofore hath been a castell hoth strenge and faire and well wrought, though at this present it be greatly decaied. On the principall gates were graven certein l^{trs}, which seemed verie faire and lyke to the Armenians, hut in an other kinde than those which the Armenians vse at this present: for I had certein Armenians there wth me which coulde not reade them.² This broken castell is distant from Curco towardes the mowthe of the haven, the shooote of a croshowe, and Curco is partly edified on a rocke, and partly it hangeth downe hill towards the sea. Out of the rocke is hewen a great dyche on theaste side, and on the sande towardcs the hyll side is an exceeding stronge wall, scarfelled, that it can not be annoyed wth artyllerie. Such an other place is likewise in the castell wth exceeding great walles and most etronge, towards which in all may compasse twoo thirde partes of a myle, and the same hath also vpon the gates (which arr twoo) certein Armenian l^{trs} graven. Everie habitaⁿon of thi town^e hath his cieterne of freshe water, and in the open straates arr iij very great cisternes of exceeding pure water, sufficient to furnishe a verie great citie. In the high waie, a howeshooote ent of the towne eastewardes, arr certein arches of marble, of one peece (for the most parte broken), wth contynewe on both eides the waie to a certein churche halfe a myle distant: seomyng to haue heen a verie great thinge and all wrought wth very great pillers of marble and other excellent things.

The grounde about the towne is hyllie and stonye, lick

¹ Ramusio has—which, according to the ancients, was Eleusia.

² This inscription is given in Beaufort's *Karamania*, p. 220.

vnto that of Istria, and hath been inhabited by the subiects of the Lordo Caramano. There groweth much wheat, cotton, and cattail, and specially they breed many oxen and horses, and hane excellent fruictes of divers sortes: the ayro being as ferre as I coulde pocaeue very tempate, hut what caco the country is in at this present I wot not; for I heare saie it hath been destroied hy Ottomano. Neere to the sea-side arr ij castells, one of Sigi, beforo named, huylded on an hyll, and an other very stronge. The first whereof is w'hin a boweshoote of the sea and thother vj myles distant from that.

Likewise on the sea-side, departing from Curco, ten myles northwest is Selencha,¹ on the top of an hyll; under the which reñeth a ryver² that falleth into the sea heside Curco, about the bignesso of Brenta: and neere vnto this hill is a theatre lienk vnto that of Verona, verie great, and environed wth pillers of one peece, and gryses³ about. Clymbong tho hyll, to enter the towne on the lefte hande, arr seene many arches, parte of ono peece (as it is said before) separate from the hill, and partly digged out of the same hill. And clymging a little higher, ye onter the gates of the first circuite to the towne, which stande in maner on the height of the hill, wth a great towne on either side, and arr of yron, wthout any tymber, about l^{xxiiii}⁴ foote high and half as broad, wrought no lesse finely than as if they were sylver, exceeding thicke and stronge. Tho wall is verie great, full w'hinfoo' the wth his garde before which is so well laden and covered wthout foo'rh wth verie harde earth, and so well cowched⁵ that by it ye can not clymbe to the walles; and this earthe environneth them and defendeth so much from the walles that the circuite thereof bylowe is iij myles, wheare the wall itself is not pas a myle about, so that it is made liko a

¹ Ramusio has—that is to say, Selentia.

² *Ibid.* has—according to the ancients, called Calycadnus.

³ Gryse, a step.

⁴ Erto; *i.e.*, steep.

⁵ Ramusio has—quindici, 15.

suger loofe. Within this circle is the castell of Selencha, wth the walles full of towres, between which wall and tho vtter wall there is so mnch voide grounde as for neede wold heare ccc hussheells of wheate, and leave aboue xxx paces space between it and the inner wnrdo. Within this castoll is an holowe qnsdrant digged out of the rocke, v paces deepe, xxx paces longe, and about viij paces broado; wheroin wns much tymher for munition, and, besides that, a great cisterne that can never lacke watar.

This towne is in the Lesse Arminio,¹ stretching towards the mountaigne TAURUS, called in their tonge Corhestan. I ahoade awhile in this plisce, and afterwardes took my io'ney towards Persia. And notwithstanding that there was an other waie, yet went I by the sea costes, and the first day wthout longe io'ney, passeng fo' the of Caramnos domynion, I arryved at a good citio called Tarsus, the lord whereof is named DULGADAE, brother to SESSUAR. This countrey, though

At this
time there
was a Sol-
dan in
Egipt. it be in the Greater Armenie, is nevertheless vnder the sonl-danes suhiection. The citie is iij miles of compasse, and hath n ryver hesides it,² whereon standeth a stone bridge vaulted, hy the which they passed ont of tho towne, and the ryver doth almost environe the towne. In this citie also is n stronge castoll embstailed on both sides wth walles of xv paces high uf stone, all wrought with the ha'mer;³ before the w^{ch} is an excellent voide place, square and plaine, that leadeth to a staier entering to the castell, and is so longo and large as woll easily conteigne an o⁴ men; nnd this towno standeth on a litle hill not verie high. A daies io'ney from thenso is Adena, n verie great towne with a mightie ryver rennyng

¹ Ramusio has—"but formerly it was in Cilicia, and it was taken by the Turks, when they occupied the rest of Asia Minor, from whom it was taken by Rubino and Leone, brothers of Armenia, about 1230, and they brought it back to the kingdom, which they call Armenia; and this Armenia stretches to the mountain Tanrus," etc., etc.

² *Ibid.* has—named by the ancients Cydnus.

³ Scarpello; *i.e.*, chisel.

⁴ Ramusio has—1000.

by it,¹ over the which is a stone bridge of xlⁱⁱ paces longe, on which hridge (heing in company of certein suffi, as who wolde saie pilgrymes) we being also clothed after their maner, thes suffi hegaune to daunce in spirito, one of them syngeng celestiall things of the ioyes of Macomett, beginneng meeryly and softely,² and afterewards, hy litle and litle, strayneng the measure faster, according to the tewnes, whereof they that daunced amended their paces and their leapinges so that divers of them fell to tho grounde and laye as in a tranneo, which caused mnch people to assemble wondring at them, till the felowes of them that fell tooke them vp and cariod them to their lodgings. And thus did they at everie lodg-ing, and many tymes also hy the waie as though they were forced to do it. The towne of Adena, and likewise the region, maketh many fustians, and is under the soldanos domynion, standing likewise in Armonie the Lesso. I for-heare to speak of the rowynowso townes and castells that arr botwene that and EUPHRATES, because therio is nothing notahte. Thus heing arryved at Euphrates, wo founde there a boate of the soldanes hablo to transporte xvij horses, and thia boate was verie straunge in the which we passed the ryver. Neere vnto this ryver are certein caves in the rockes, to the which they that passe mako their refnge whan tem-peste or yll wheather happeneth. On tho other side arr cer-tciu villaiges of Armeenie, wheare we laio one night, and so bcing passed the ryver we arrived at a towne called Orphe,³ appteineng to the King Assambei, and governed by Valihech, hrother to the samo king. This has somotime heen a great towne, bnt it was in maner vtterly destroyed hy the soldane when the King Assambei went to the siege of Bir.⁴ It hath a castell vpon the hyll indifferent stronge. And at this place the lorde thereof vnderstode what I was, and

¹ Ramusio has—named by the ancients Pyramus.

² Slowly and softly.

³ Orfa.

⁴ Birajik, on the left bank of the Euphrates.

seemed to see me gladly ; insomuch that I deliuered him my l'res, which he caused to be well conveighed. Of this towne I can saie no more, hicause it was defaced, for the lorde himself dwelled there but fearefully. After this, we came to the foote of one hyll that stode vpon another hyll, and hath a citie called Merdin, wherovnto there is but ono waie being a staier enforced the grises¹ whereof arr of freo stone of iiiij paces brode a peccs and so endureth a myle longe. At the teppe of this staier is a gate, and w'hin that a waio that leadeth to the towne, and within the towne is an other hill, in maner hewen rounnde abont, on the which standeth a castell of l paces high, to whoso entrey is made such an other staier as the first. This towne hath none other walles but those of the houses, and is of leingth the iij^{do} parte of a myle, conteyneng abont ccc hones w'hin it, woll peopled. They make very many silkes and fustians, and it belongeth also to the King ASSAMBEI. The Turkes and Moores arr wont to saie that it is so high that thy which dwell in it do never see birdes flee over them. Here I was lodged in an hospitall founded by Ziangirbei, brother of the King Assamhei, in the which they that reasorte thither arr fedde, and if they seeme psons of any estimaçon they haue carpetts layed vnder their feeto better wo'the than an hundredth ducates a peece. In which place there happened mo a straunge case : and vorie rare in o' pties. Sitteng one daye alone in the hospitall, there came vnto me a Carandolo; that is to saie, a naked man shaven, wth a goate skynne about him, brewne, about xxx yeres of age, and sate downe by me, takeng out of his sachell a litle booke, whereon he beganne to reade devoutly, wth good maner, as we use to saie o' praiers : w'hin a while aftre he ytched neere me, and asked what I was : wherevnto nnsvering him that I was a straungier, he saied, and I also am a straungier to this worldc, and so he we all: whorefore I haue lefte it and en-

¹ Grises; i.e., steps.

tendo to folowe this trade¹ vnto myne ende: wth so many good and eloquent wordes, that to lyve well and modestly he wondrefullly comforted me to despise the world: saieng, tho^w seest howe I go nakcd through the worlde, whereof I haue scene parte² and yet baue fonnde nothing that pleaseith me: and tberofore hane dterminyd vtterly to habandon it. Being departed from MERNINO, we rode sixe io'neys, and camo to a towne of tho King Assambois called ASANCHEPH. On the right hande whereof before ye come to it in the syde of a litle hill, there be a nombre of habitacions digged out of the verie hill, and on tho lyfte hande is ano^f hyll whereon the towne is buylded, vnder the foote of which hyll arr maay caves enhabited, those caves on thone side of the hill being innnmerable and all high enough from thearthe, wth their streates or waies that leade to those habitations, whereof some arr xxx paces high; insomuch that as the people and cattaill passe by those streates or waies it seemeth they walk in thayre they arr so high. Following this waie and to'neng on the lyfte hande ye enter the towne, wherein arr fustian merchaunts and other occupiers, the towne being a great throwefare. It is a myle and an halfe of cirouite wth the subnrbes, with many faire howses and some MOSCHEES in it. Out of it ye passe a faire deepe ryver³ of xxx paces brode, over a bridgo of huge tymber, which by force of the only weight standcth vpon the heades of other peeces of tymber that arr dryven into the earth, for tho ryver is so deepe that no one peece can reacbo it. Astre we had passed this mountaigne we went through champaignes and hilly cuntreys, not high nor trowblousc, from whense about twoo daies io'ney eastwarde we came to a towne called SAIRT,⁴ whicb is made Trianglewise, and on thone pte bath an indiferent stronge castell, wth many great towres, on whch side

¹ To continue in this manner.

² A great part.

³ Ramusio has—named Set, formerly named Tigris.

⁴ Sert, thirty leagues east of Diarbekir.

the walles arr somewhat decaied: showing the towne nevertholes to have been very faire, heing three myles of compasse, very well inhabited, and fmrnished indifferently wth howses, moschees, and faire fountaignes. At thentree whereof we passed two ryvers over ij hridges of stone of one arche apeece, vnder the which one of o' great harges might passe wth his mast vpright: for they ha both great ryvors, and swifte, thone called BETTALIS, and thother ISAN; and to this place stretcheth the lesse Armenia, wheare arr no great hilles, nor great woods, nor yet any huyldings different from the accustomed. And thronghout that region arr many villaiges, the people whereof live hy tillage, as they do here. They have corne, frutes, and many fustians, oxen, horses, and other heastes enongh; besides this, they have goates, wh^{ch} they sheare yerely, and of their heare make chamletts, wherfore they governe them very diligently, koeping them wasshed and neate.

Nwo shall we beginne to entre into the monntaigne Taurus, whose ende is towards the sea MAGGIORE, in the pties of Trahisonda, and streccheth east-sowtheast towards the golfe called Sinns Persiens, at thentree of which monntaigne arr exceeding high, and stype hilles enhahited wth a certain people called Corai,¹ different in langnaige from all their neighbo^r, exceeding crewell, and not so much theevishe as openly given to rohorie. They haue many townes, huylded vpon hankes and high places, to discover all passaigos that they may robbre them that passe. Wherfore many of those townes haue been destroied by the Lordes of the cuntry for the damage they haue doon to the CAROCANES passeng by them. As I for my pte haue had some expienco of their condicions.

The iijth day of Aprile, the yere 1474, heing departed from a towno called CHESAN, appteyneng to a Lorde that is suiect to Assambei, shont halfo a daies iorney from the

¹ Kurds.

towne ; having in my companie an Ambassado^r of the said ASSAMBEI, vpon an high hill we were assaulted by theso Corbi, who slew the said Ambassado^r and my Secretaire wth ij other, and having hurte me and the rest, they tooke our sompters and all that they founde. I being on horsbacke fledde ont of the waie all alone, and afstre me came they that were hurte ; insomuch that at length we gate us into the company of a Califfo, that is as much to say, as an heade pylgrymo, wth whom we travailod as well as we coulde. The iij^{de} day folowing we came to Vastan,¹ a citie decaied and yll enhabited, for it hath not above ccc houses. Twoo daies io'ney thense we founde a towne called Choy,² which is also decaied, having about cccc hones, and thiuhabitants lyve of handicrafts and tillage. Being come in maner to thende of the mountaigne Tanrus, I determinyd to departo from this Califfo ; and taking one of his companione for my guyde, w'bin three daies io'ney we came necre to the famouse citie of THAURIS, and being in the brode champaigno, we mett wth certain TURCOMANNI, who, wth certein Corbi in their companie, camo towardes vs, askeng vs whither we went. I answored that I was going towardes the King Assambei wth l'res directed vnto him. Than one of them praied me to lett him see them : and becance I told him curteyslie it was not convenient, I shulde putt them in his handos, he lyfte vp his fist and strake me such a blowe on the faco that the paine thereof lasted me iiij moonethes after ; besides that they bcate my trowthman nnhappely, and so lefste vs yll content, as all men may think. Being come to Thauris, we went into a CANOSTRA, that is to weete (after or maner) an Inne, from whence I signified to the King Assambei (being than there present) that I was come, desireng to be brought to his presence. And incontinently the next morneng beiug sent for, I presented myself vnto him, so yll apprailed that I darr assure yo^u all that I had about me was not wo'the ij

¹ Vastan, six leagues south of Van.

² Khoy.

ducates. He receaved me curteslio, and than badde me welcome, saieng that he had heene well advertised of the death of his ambassado^r, and of the other twoo, and also of my roherie, promiseng me to see all redressed in such sorte as we shulde susteigne no losse. Than I presented vnto him my l'res of credence, which I had alwaies carried in my hoosome; and hicause there was none about him that conlde reade it, he made me reade it myself, and so to be declared vnto him by an interpreto^r. And whan he vnderstodo the contents of it, he hadde me (aftre o^r own maner) repaire to his connsaill, and to deliver them in writeng what had been taken from me, and further to declare what I had to saie, and so to reto'ne to my lodging till he shulde see tyme to send for me. Tho place whearo I had this accesse to the King was on this maner. First, it had a gate w'hin tho which was a quadrant of iiiij or v paces square, wheare sate his chief astates that passed not eight or ten in nomhro. Than was there an other gate neere to the first, in the which stooede a porter wth a little staffe in his hande. Whan I was entered that gate I passed through a grene garden like a meadowe full of trufles, wth mudde walles, in tho which on the right syde was a pavement. About xxx paces further was there a lodge, volte wise, afstre o^r maner, iiiij or v steppes higher than the foressaid pavment. In the middest of this lodge was a fountaigne like vnto a little gutter, alwaies full of water, and in thentrie of it the king himself sate on a cusslion of cloth of gold, wth another at his backe, and besides him was his huckler of the Moresco facon with his scimitarra, and all tho lodge was laied wth carpettes, hie chiefest Princes sitteng round about. The lodgo was all wrought of Musaico, not so small as we vse, hnt great and verie faire of divers colo^r.

Scime-tarra is like that we call a fawchon.
Musaico is an ex-cellent kinde of paincteng

The first day I came to hym he had divers syngers and plaiors, wth harpes of a yarde longo, which they holdo wth golde. the sharpe ende vpwardes; and hesides that lutes, rehickes,

cymhales, and baggepipes, all which plaied agreahlie. The next daie he sent me twoo garmentes of sylke, that is, to witt, a straict gowne furred wth harco and a jackett, a towell of sylke to girde me, a fyne peece of lynen called bumbasio to pntt on my hedde, and xx ducats, sending me wordo wthall that I shulde go to Maidan, tbat is, to witt, to the markett place to seo the TARAFUCERO,¹ tbat is, to weete, tho pliae. Thither I went on horsebacko, wheare in the markett place I foundo about iij horsemen and more than twies as many on foote, hesides the King's children, which were looking out at certain wyudowes. To this place certain wylde wolves were brought, ledde wth cordes tied to echo one of their hynder feete, and those wolves were by one and one lett go in the middest of the place. And to the first there came a man appointed vnto it, offering to stryke him. The wolfe flewo streighe towards his throte ; hut the man, which was nymble, shifted him of in such wise as the wolfe tooke no holde hut on his arme, which coulde tako no hurto by reason of his sleeves that were prepared for it. Tho horses fled for fearo amongst the prease, and many fell, some in the place and sone into the water which renneth throughe the citie. And whan they had weeried one wolfe than they lett slyppe an other, which kinde of plaie tbey uso every frydaie.

This pastyme being ended, I was brought to the King's presence into tho place heforo mencioned ; and was caused to sit honorably, and likewise others being sett in their places as many as coulde conveniently sytt wthin that lodge, and the rest according to their degrees sitteng vpon carpetts afstre tho Moriseo maner, table clothes were spredde vpon tho carpetts, and every man had sett before hym a sylver busen wth a pott of wyne, an ewer of water, and a littledishe all of silver. Tbis meane while there came in certain men sent from a Princeo of INDIA, wth certein strange beastes;

¹ Ramusio has—Tanfarizo, corruption of *tafurraj*, rejoicing.

the first whereof was a leonza¹ ledde in a chayne by one that had ekyll, which they call in their langnaige Bahureth. She is like vnto a lyonesse: but she is redde coloured, streaked over all wth blacke strykes; her face is redde wth certein white and blacko spottes, the healy white, and tayled like the lyon: seemyng to be a marvailouse fiers heast. Than was there a lyon brought foo'the and chewed to the leonza somewhat of. At the eight whereof the leonza sodainely equatted, as it had been a catte, and as though she wolde have leaped on the lyon, if the keeper had not drawen her haccine. Afstre this were twoo elophentes brought, which, whan they came forneagainst the kinge afstre certein woordes spoken to them by their leader, looked vp to the kinge and than enclyned their heades wth a certein gravitie, as though they did him reverence. The greater of them was brought to a tree in the gardein as bigge as a mennes myddoll, which (afstre certein woordes spoken hy his keeper) he shaked on thone side wth his heade, and then to ned and did as much on thother sido: so that he plucked it vp.

Afstre this was brought foo'the a GIRAFFA, which they call GIENAPPA, a heast as longe legged as a great horse, or rather more; but the hynder legges are halfe a foote shorter than the former, and is cloven footed as an oxe, in maner of a violett colo' myngled all over wth blacke spottes, great and small according to their places: the bealy white somewhat longe heared, thynne heared on the tayle as an assee, litle hornes like a goate, and the necke more than a pace longe: the tonge a yarde longe, violett and rounde as an eele, wth the which he greseth or eateth the leaves from the trees so swifstely that it is ekarsely to he pceavod. He is headed like a harte, hnt more fynely, wth the which etanding on the grounde he woll reache xv foote high. His hrest is hroder than the horse, hnt the croope narowo liko an asse; he eeemath to ha a mervaillonse faire beast, hut not like to hearo any burden. Afstre these were brought foo'the in three

¹ An ounce.

cages three paire of doves, white and blacke like vnto ours, saving they were lenge necked like a geoso : being (as I helieve) rare byrdes in those parties, ells they welde never have brought them foo'the. Finally aftre all these there were three pepingaies of divers colo^rs hrought foo'the, and twoo of thosse cattes that mako ZIBETTO. Than was I taken vp and hrought into a chamher, wheare I dyned, and whan I had doon he that attended on Amhassado^r badde me fare-well and willed me to departe. Nevertheles, immediately aftre I camo to my lodging I was sente for againe, and being come to the kinge he asked me why I departed ? wherevnto I answered that my governe^r gave me leave ; for tho which the king heing offendid, caased him incontinently to be called, layed flatt, and beaten in his presence. Howheit, viij daies aftre at my request he was restored into fave^r. The merewe aftre this man was beaten the King sent for me early : who, boing in the place aforesaid, caused me to sytt as I did the ether tyme.

This daie being holydaie, and fer the comyng of the Amhassado^rs of India, there were verie great tryemphs made. First his co'tiers were apparailed in cloth of golde, sylkes and chamlettes of divers colo^rs. In the lodge were sett ahent xlⁱⁱ of the most honeurable, and in the entries about an e, w'hout thentry about cc, hetwene the two gates aheat Lⁱⁱ, and in the streets w'hout about xx^m, all radio sett, looking for meate, in the myddest of whom there were about iiiij^m herses. And standing iu this order the twoo Amhasado^rs of India came in, who were made to sytt ferneagainst the kinge, and than incontinently wore the presents brought foo'the, which passed befor the king and his companie on this wise. First, the heastes rehersed before. Next, about an e meu, oue aftre an other, everie man having on his arme v TOLPANI,¹ that is to saie, v peecees of verie fyne bombasses lynen cleth wth the which thy make those rolles that thy were en their heade being wo'the v er vij ducates a peece.

¹ Turban.

Zibetto is
maske.

Than came there vi men, every man wth vi peeces of sylko
on his arme. Than came thore ix, every one of them wth a
little dishe of sylver full of such pretiouse stones as I shall
declare vnto yo^r hercafter. After them came certain wth ves-

Sandalo is sells and diishes of PORCELLANA. Than some wth woodde of
the tree that the spice called Saunders is made of.
ALOEE and great large peeces of SANDALI. Than came there
xxv fardells of spices, caried wth coule stakos¹ hy iij men at
every fardell. These things being passed, mente was brought
foo'the, and every man eerned. Aftre dyner the king asked

thambassado^r wheather there were any other king than theirs
that was MossULMAN (that is to saie, Macomettane), who
answered that there were two others, but all the rest were
Christians. The morowe aftre the king sent for me, and
tolde me that he wolde make me a litle passetyme in shew-
ing mo the jewells that were sent him out of Indin, and first
caused to be deliuered vnto me a ryuge (that serveth to
drawe their howe) of golde wth n ruhie in the myddest of
twoo carretts, and some dynamands about it. Also ij ringes
of golde, wth twoo ruhies waieng iij carretts. Three skore
threades of perles of v carretts a peece, white, hut not
rounde. A pointed dyamant of xxⁱⁱe carretts, not verie
cleano, but of a good wnter. Twoo heades of deado byrdes²
in a camewe,³ which seemed verie stranng in respect of the
fowle of our regions. And having shewed me these jewells,
he asked me howe I lyked that present, addeng that a king
sent them vnto him from heyonde the seas: that ia, to witt,
from heyonde the Golfe of Persia. I answered that the
present was verie faire and of great valuo, though not so
great hut that I esteemed him woo'thie of a much greater.
Well, than, said he, tho^w shalt also sco my jewells. Where-
vpon, he comauanded a chyldes coyfe of silke to be deliuered
vnto mo. But I incontinently tooke myne handekerchief to
reccave it wthall to thontont I wolde not too^wche it wth myno

¹ A pole on which to carry a cowl or vessel between two persons.

² Rainusio has— which had died on their passage. ³ Cameo.

hande: wherewth he behelde me, and tornyng to hie owno folkes, smylingly said, See tho Italian, as though he comended my maner in receaving the coyfe. On the topo of this coyfe there was a balasse hored through and faconed lyke a date, cleue, and of a good colo^r, waieng an o^t carretts, about the which were certein great tuncassee, but they wero olde, and likewise certein perles also olde. Besides this, he cansas me to see certein vessells of PORCELLANA and DIASPRO,¹ very faire.

An other tymo, comyng to him, I fonnde hym iu a chambre vnder a pavylion: and than he asked me howe I lyked it. And whoather they vsed any such in o^r cuntreyes, I answered him that I lyked it excellently well; and that there was no comparyson to he made of o^r places vnto his; hoth hicause his power ferre exceeded ours, and also for that we vsed no such chambers; and truly it was exceeding fairo. For the tymbre was woll wrought aftre the facon of a cowpe:² and hangod about wth clothes of Cowpe is an whole sylke, embrowderie, and golde and all the flooro covored wth excellent good carpetts, being about xiiij pacos over. Beyonde this chamber was a great square tent embrowdered, pitched, as it had been, betweone four trees eett to shadowe it, betweene which and the cowpe there was a pavylion of BUCASIN, all wrought and embrowdered wth hinfoothc. The chamhre doore was of tho wooddo of SANNALI entrolaced wth threedde of golde and nottee of porle wrought and embrowdered wth hinfootho. I foundo the king sytteng there with his greatest psonaiges about him, having before hym a towell folded vp: which he vnfolded, and tooke out of it a threade of twelue halasses, lyke vnto olyves, of very cleue colo^r, betweene L and lxxx carratts a peece. Than tooke he out one sahle halasse of twoo ounces and an halfe of a goodley facon, bigge as a fynger, wthout any hole and of excellent colo^r, in thone corner wheroof were certein

* Jasper.

¹ Kubbeh, dome.

Bucasin
is a verie
finelynen
cloth
made of
cotton.

moresco l'res graven, wth moved me to aske what l'res they were, and he answered me that a certein king had caused them there to he graven, syns whose tyme neither his predecessor nor he wolde grave any moore, hicause it shulde deface the whole. Than he asked me what that rubie might be wo'tho. I looked on him and synyled; wherevpon he asked me again, How I lyked it? I tolde him I had never seene the lyke, nor I thought never to finde any that might be a paragone vnto it. And if I shulde valewo it, the halassi, if he had a tongue might aske me wheather ever I had seene the lyke: to the which I shulde he dryven to saye no. So that I helieve he is not to be valewed wth golde, hnt padventure, some citie might answere him. He looked earnestly on me, and saied PRAN CATAINI CATAINI. The worldo hath iij eyes, whereof the Cataines haue two and the FRANCHI one. In dede tho^w hast said truly. And to'neng him towards them that were about him he tolde them howe he had asked me what that balassi might he wo'tho and what answere I had made, rehearsing my wo'ds vnto them.

I had before hearde this wo'de Cataini of an ambassado^r of Tartarie in his reto'ne froun Cataio the yere 1436, who, passeg through Tana wth all his trayne, was lodged in my house: I hoping to get some jewell of him. At which time, talking of Cataio, he tolde me howo the chief of that Princes co'te knewe well what the FRANCHI were. And vpon my demaunding of him howe it was possible they shulde haue knowledge of the Franchi, he asked me, why shulde they not knowe us? Tho^w knowest, said he, howe neere we he vuto Capha, and that we practise thither continuall; leik as also they reasorte into o^r Lordo: addeng this further, we Cataini have twoo eyes and yo^w FRANCHI one, wheras yo^w (to'neng him towards the Tartaros that were wth him) haue never a one, which he spake merrylie. So that at this tyme I did the better vnderstande the proverbo, whan the king vsed these woordos vnto me. This

doon, he shewed me a rubio, of an once and an halfe, of the faſoa of a cheſt nutte, rounde, faire colo'red, and cleno: not hored througħ aad bounde in a cerclo of golde, which ſeemed to me a mervailoaae thinge, beiag eo great: ho shewed me afre many balasses, hoth jewelled aad vnjewelled, amoungſt the which there was one in a ſquare table made afre the faſon of a little nayle, rouade about the which wore v other table balasses, the great one in the middest weyng xxx carretts or thercahouts, and the next tweaty carrete or thercahonts, betweuo the which there were certein great perles and tarcasscs ſet not of any great eſtimacion, for they were olde.

After this he cauſed certein Caseacks¹ to be brought foo'the of clothe of golde, of ſylke, and of damaskyno chamlette, lyned wth eylko or furred wth exceeding faire armelynes and ſables: telling me theſe be of the clothes of a towne of Ies.² Our apparaill, qd he, is fairo; but it waieth a litle to much. Finally, he cauſed certein ſylke carpetts to be brought foo'ho, which were mervailouſe faire.

The morow aftre, I cam to hym agaiae, and calling me neere, he ſaid vnto me, Tho^w ſhalt haue a litle more paſſe-timo. And ſo deliueroed me a camewe³ of the breadeth of a grote, wherein was a womans heade graven; her heare backwarde, and a garlande about her heado. He badde mo looke, is not this Mary? I aawered, no. Why, who is it than (q^d hc)? I aawered, it was the figure of ſome of thauncient goddesses that the BURPARES⁴ wo'ſhipped, that is, to witt, tho Idolaters. He asked me howe I knewe it? I tolde him I kaewe it; for theſe kinde of wo'kes were made before the coīnyng of Jesu Christ. Ho ſhaked his heado a litle, and ſaied no more. Than he aſhewed me three poindted diamauts, oae of xxx carretts, very clene both aboue and benethe; and the other hetwene x and xij carretts, askeng me wheather there were any ſuch jewolls wth vs. I toldo

These
Cassacks
are longe
and ſtraiſt,
and but
half
ſleeved.

¹ Cassock.

² Yezd.

³ Camco.

⁴ But-perest.

him no; wherevpon he tooke vp a masse of perlos of xl tbreades, vpon every one wherof were xxx perles of betwene y and vj carretts a peece: halfe of tbem rounde, and the rest not unsitt to be iewelled.¹ Than he caused to be pntt into a eylver basen abont xl perles, like vnto pearree and gourdes, of betwene viij and xij carretts a peece, vnbored tbrough and of very faire colo^r, eaieng to me wth a emyleng cbeere: I coulde shewe the an ho'ee loade of tbese. This was doon at a bankett by night aftre their maner, at the circumoision of his twoo sonnes.

The daye folowing I repaired to him into a great feeldo wthin the towne, wheare wheate bad been eowen, the grasso wherof was mowed to make place for the tryompbe and the owners of the grounde satisfied for it. In this place were many pavilions pigbt,² and as sone as he pceaued me be comaunderd certein of his to go wth me, and to shewe mo those pavilions, being in nombre about an c^h, of tho which I vsed xl of the faircst. They all bad their cbambres wthbinfoote, and the roofes all ctt of divers color^s, the grounde being covered wth most beautiful carpetts, betweno which carpetts and those of CAIRO and of Borsa³ (in my iudgement), there is as much difference as betwcono tho clothes made of Englisbe woolles and those of Saint Mathewes. Aftwardes they caused me to entre into twoo pavylion, which were full of eylke apparaill aftre their facon, and of other sortee of clothee laied on a great heape: on thone side of the which I pceaved to the nombre of xl saddles, trymed wth eylvor. All wwhich apparaile and eadells thou tolde me shulde be given awaio by the king at the tryompbe. They also sbewed me twoo great doores of the woodde of SANDALI, of vj foote high, a peccett wth golde and moother of perle aftre the wo'ke of THARSIA.⁴ Than I reto'ned to the king, and took my leafe for that tyme.

The morowe folowing I founde him sitteng in his accus-

¹ Set or mounted.

² Brousse.

³ Pitched.

⁴ Marquettie work.

tomed place, vnto whom there were brought eight great dishes of woodde: in every of the which was a white sugar loofe made of divers facons, weying viij^b a peoce, and rounnde abont it wero certain little disshes wth confectiones of divers colo^r, but for the most parte confettes. There were also many other disshes hrought foo'the wth other confectiones and frutes. The first eight he appointed himself to whom they shulde be givon: I boing the first that was presented w'hall, and it was wo'the hetweno iiij and v ducates a peeco: the rest was distrihuted amongst others, according to their degrees.

The next daie I founde him sett amongst xv psons, tho principall wherof had canopies over their heades, and v or vi stode hofore the prince, whom he comaunded to go and apparaill such and such by name. They thorevpon wont to those that were named, and taking them vp, ledde them to the pavilion, wheare the garmeutes were, and aftre their degrees apparralled them, and to some they gave sadells, and to some other they gave horses, to the nombre of xl, in my iudgement: but they that were so npparailed wero aboue ccl, amongst whom I was one. This doon, there came cer-
tein women that begnnne to daunce and to syngewth certein that plaied. And than was thore sett on a carpott an hatt faconed like a sugar looofe, having on tho toppe cuttes and tassells aftre the maner of the hntes of Zubia¹, and a litle from it stoodc one waiteng the kinges comaundement, who pointed him on whose heado he shulde sett that hatt. Whorcvpon he took it vp and went to the person appointed: which arose, and putteng of his rolle, putt the hatt on his heade; being so unseemoly as suffised to haue disgraced a right goodly man. But he hauing it on, passed foo'the, daunceng before the king, as ho knewe the guyse. And the king gave a signe to him that wayted, comaundering him

¹ Zubiaur, a district in the Basque country, where there are caps with large tassels.

Camocato to give to the dauncer a peece of CAMOCATO. Aud he taking
is fine Calicut cloth. this peece threwo it about the heade of the dauncer and of
other men and women: and useing certein woordes in
praiseng the king, threwe it before the mynstrells. This
daunceng and throwing of peeces lasted till an howre before
sonnesett: in the which, by my rekeuyng, what of damaske
wo'kes, lynenclothe, chamletts, and other like, there were
given awaie alone occ peeces and alone l^{vi} horses. This
doon, they fell to wrasteling on this wise. Two naked men,
wth breeches and hoses of leather downe to the ankleyes, pre-
sented themselves before the king, and they clasped not
acrosse, bnt sought to take eche other hy the napo of the
necke, which either of them did his hest to defende. But
whan thone had gotten holde on thother's necke, than he that
was so taken having none other shifte wolde stoowpe as
lowe as he might, and take the other by the backe, lifteng
him vp and seeking to throwe him flatt on his hacko; for
otherwise it was reckened no fall, howbcit divers of them
wolda suffer himself to be almost so throwen, and whan it
came to the point wolde nevertheles shifte tho others to tho
fall, and so wynne the price. At leingth there came one of
these naked wrestlers before the king, so huge a man that
. he seemed a gyannte, heing yonge and well proporcioned, of
xxx yeres of age or therahontes: whom the king comaunded
to wrastle: willeng him to seeke a ccompanion. Bnt he,
kneoling, spake certein woordes againe, which I being de-
sironse to vnderstande, it was tolde me that he had bosought
the king ho might not plaie, hicanse in plaieng before ho
had killed some wth strayneng of them; wherefore the king
was contented to spare him. Vnto these wrastelers there
were divers horses given, and the plaie, astre I was goon,
endred till it was twoo houres w'in night; so that therew
were many other things given. In this, meane whele, the
towne was well decked, and spetially the shoppes; for every
man sett foo'the his best stuf. And there was also a pricc

apointed to the kings footemen, whose co'ree to renne was a mylo and an halfe, not w'hall their power, but a good trotting pace, they being eployed, naked, and anoynctd over w'th larde for the preeerva^con of their eynowes, w'th a breecho of leather for everie of them. And beginneng at the one ende of the race, whan they came trotting to thother, they receaneed (of such as were appoincted) an arrowe for a witnessse to them that were ferre of, and conlde not discerae wheather they arrived at the marke or not, liek as whan he reto'ned againe to thother cnde, he receaued there also an other arrowe; and so from the ono ende to the other as longe as hie legges wolde serue him; so that he which shuld most tymes trya that race shulde haue the prico. These for whom this price was prepared were all of the kings footemen; which go barelegged and in maner naked, not styckeng to trotte eomotymee x daies io'ney togither.

Theso triompthes fynisshid, the king, w'th all his trayne, determynod, according to their custome, to go into the champaigao; wherefore he asked me wheather I wolde go w'th him and travail or taric behinde and make meery. I answered that I had rather wayto on him w'th much sorowo and trouble than to he from him w'th great rost and pleas^r, which anewer me seemed he tooke verie thankefully, and so incontinently sent me an horse, a tente, and mooney. Being thus departed from the citie, he w'th all his trayne tooke that waie which they knewo fittest to furnishe them of pasture and water: travailing at the beginneng hetwene x and xv myles a daye: and w'th him there went iij of his sonnes.

He that wolde here note all the things wo'thie to be noted, shulde take a diffuse entrepreize vpon him and shulde sometimes treato of things almost incredibl. Whereforo I shall declare so much only ae I thinko convenient, leaving the rest to those writers that shall vso more diligence in it than I haue doon.

Thus being in the champaigne theram came to visit the king a sonna of his that eoggio'ned in tha pties of BAODATH, that is to saie, BABILONE, and his mother wth him, who presented his father wth xx goodly horses, c camells, and certejn peeces of eylka. Than ware theram also presentad vnto the king by the harons attending on his sonna a nombra of camells and horses, which in my sight at the veria instant were distributed and given awaia by the king to such as pleased him and than want to dyner. But not long after haing in the champaigne nawas came that an other sonne of his, callad OZALU MAHUMETH had taken Syras, a notable great citia of his father's domynion; which he had doona vpon woo'da that was brought him of hie father's death, wherupon he determyned to hava that towne for himself. These newae being haarde, tha king forthwth aroasa, and wth all his peopla tooka his waie towarde Syras, which from that place was distant cxx miles, and travailed wth so much speede that between myndight and tho evenyng of the next daia thay went xl myles, so that in iij dais ha might hava hean theram. Who coulda believea that so great a nombra of people, men, women, and children, and some in the cradell, shuldo make so great a speedie voiage, carieng wth them all their baggaige and so good ordre, wth so mnch dignitic and pompe, never wantang breada and seldome wyn (which they needed not to lacke weare it not that a great nombro of them drynke nona), and than such plentie of flesha and fruictes, and all other thinges necossaria? I that hava seen it do not only believa, but also knowo it; and to thende that they which hereaftre may happen to travaill thither (if any happen at all) may iudge whether I writa trewo or not, and that they which naver mynde to see it may also helieva it if it shall pleasea them, I shall heare make a special declara-tion of it.

Tha noble and principall men which he wth the king, and that carie wth them their wicfs and children, men and women

servants, and their goodes, arr wonte to have many camells and mooyles, the nomhre whereof I shall rehearse horeastre. These carie the sucking chiltron in their cradells at tho pomell of the sadell, so that the moother or the narse ryding may give them sucke, which cradells arr some fairer than other, according to the qaalities of the owners, wth their sylkes over them, wroaght wth golde or sylke. Wth tho lyfte hand they holde the cradell and the hrydell hoth, aad wth tho right hande they drive tho horse, beating him wth a whippe hounde to their litle fynger. The other children arr also caried on horsbacke vpon certein cages, covered on hoth sides, and wrowght accordiag to their degrees. The women also ryde on horsehacke in company togither wth their maydens and servants before them according to their astate. The hahle men attende on the King's pson, and reckenyng all togither, they arr so many in nomhre that it is a good halfo daies io'ney from the oae ende of them to the other. Tho women ryde their faces covered wth muflers made of horse hear^l to defende them from sonne burneng in tho cleere weather. At this tyme were the musters taken as well of the people as of the cattell on this wise. There was a verio groat champaigae cavironned wth horses, so ordered that eche of them too^wched tho other's heade, aad tho men vpon them wero partly armed and partly vnarmed, comprehendia g ahoat xxx myles in circnito, wthin which ordro they all stoodo from the morneng vntill sonnesett. Than passed one surveieng and making a reckenyng of them, not takiag any manaes name or the markes of the horses in writeng as we vse in thes^e ptics, hat only called for the cap^{nes} names, and considered tho nomhro wheather it wero in order, and than passed on, wherfore I tooke my soru^{nt} wth mo, and passed through them apace, rekenyng wth heanes what nomhres I founde, vseng for every lth to lctt a heane fall into my pockett. Aad whan the musters were past, I

¹ Ramusio has—as much to prevent their being seen, as, etc.

made my reckenyng, and founde the nomhres and qualties
of those things to he, afstre thordre that I shall descriue vnto
yo^u:

Of pavylionys, vj^ml;
Of camells, xxx^ml;
Of cariage mooyles, v^ml;
Of cariage horsee, v^ml;
Of asses, ij^ml;
And horses of service, xx^ml;

Of the which there were ij^ml covered wth certein armure of
yron, made in litle squares and wrought wth gold and syluer,
tacked togither wth small mayle, which hanged downe in
maner to the gronnde, and vnder the golde it had a frynge.
The rest were covered, some wth leather afstre o^r maner, somo
wth silke, and some wth quilted wo^ke so thicke that an ar-
rowe coulde not hane passed thrrough it. The horsemene
armo^r is of the same eorte before rehearsed. Those armures
of yron that I first menþioned arr made in Besthene,¹ which
in o^r tonge signifieth the v townes, being of twoo miles
compasse, and standeth on an hill wheare no man dwelleth
hnt the crafteſmen of that ſcience. And if any ſtranger
he deirouſe to lerne it, he is accepted wth putting in ſure-
ties never to departo thenſo: hut to dwell there wth the rest,
and to applie that occupation. It is trewe that in other
places like wo^ks arr made, hut no wheare ſo excellent.
Aftre this I nomhred ij^ml good mooyles, in heardes of small
cattailly xx^ml, and of great ij^ml, leopardes to hunte wthall an c;
fawcons gentle and hastarde, cc, grehounds, iij^ml, houndes, a
thousande, goskawkes, l^m, souldeor^s for the sweardo, xv^ml
ſclaves, heardmen, cariers, and other like, with ſweardes ij,
and archers a m^l, ſo that in all there myght he about xxv^ml
good horſemen, footemen of villaines and howes, iij^ml, women
of the beſt and myddell ſorte, x^ml, women ſerūnts, v^ml, child-
ren of both kindes, of xij yeres and vnder, vj^ml and other

¹ Probably Beſh-keny, five villages.

children¹ about that age v^m. Amongst the horsemen there were about one thowsande speares, targettes v^m, archers about x^m. The rest, some wth one weapon, and some wth an other. Amongst tho baggaige arr these things folowing, wth their prices and owners. First, taylo^r, showmakors, smythes, sadlers, and fletchers in great nomhre, wth all things necessarie for the campe. Than arr there victuallers that sell hreade, flesho, fruite, wyne, nnd other things in exceeding good order, which is obsorued throwghowtlie, and there he many poticaries also wth spices. Thoir hreade costeth litle moro than o^r doth in Venico. Their wyne costeth afstre the ratio of iiij ducates o^r hoggesheade, not hicause there is any wante of it in the euntrey, but hicanse for the more parte they vse it not. Fleshe afstre the ratio of a peny or three halfe pence the ponnde; cheese, 1½; rise, 1½; fruictes of all sortes, 1½; and likewise mollones, of the which some waied hetwene xxiiij and xxx^{lb} a peece.

Horsemeate afstre iij^d the daie, and showing afstre xii^d an horse mary ;² for gyrthers, leathor sadells, and other horse harneys, there was great skarsctio. As for horses to he solde, there he none hut those nagges that arr wo^the hetwene viij and x ducates a peece, and that come out of Tartarie wth the mordanntes (as I hove saied before), iiij or v thousande at a clappe :² which arr solde for iiij, v, or vi ducates a pecce : being litell, and serving onlio for cariaige. Amongst the nombre of camells abouo rehearsed, there he viij^m, of twoo bunches n peice, which haue their coveringes faire wrought, wth helles, dyngles, and beadestones of divers sortes hanging at them. Everie man afstre his degree having some x, some xx, and some xxx, tied one to an others tayle, and ho ledde every mannes hy themselfs for a pompe, wthout any hodie suffrod to ryde vpon them. Tho other camells, of one hunche, carie tho pavylions and their masters apparail in

¹ Ramusio has—in the cradles.

² A set of horse-shoas.

² In a herd.

chests, sackes, and fardelles. In like maner, amongst tho mooyles there he about ij^{ml} that cario nothing, hut arr ledde for pompe, trapped wth goodly coveringes hetter wrought than those of the camelles be. And of the samo sorte, amongst the horses ahonemençoned there he about a thousandc thns decked. When they travaill hy night wth the people those that be of reputaçon, both men and women, haue lightes horne before them, as we vse, which their men and women servnts do carie. Wheare the Prince rydeth there go before him v^s horses and more: which haue also their skowtes before them wth certain square enseignes, which, cryeng make roome, make roome! to whom all men give waie. This is one parte of that which I haue scene concerneng the maner, order, dignitie, and pompe that this peopple (whilst they he in the champaigne) vse in attending on their king: heing yet much lesse than I coulde saie of them.

At this tymo, hicause I felte myself not well at ease, I departed from the campe, and went out of the waie about halfe a daies io'ney to Soltania, which in o' tonge signifieth Imperiall. This is a citie of the forsayd kinge, which shewcth itself to haue been excellent faire. It is not walled, hnt it hath a castell walled, though it bo decaid, by reason that about iiiij years passed it was overthrownen hy a lorde called Giusa. The castell is a myle about, and hath w'hin it an high churche of iiij iles, and of iiij vaultes high: the great cowpe whereof is bigger than that of SAN JOANNI PAULO in Venice. At thone ende it hath a gate of brasse of iij paces high, wrought letties¹ wise; w'hin the which arr divers sepultures of the kings that were in time past. Over against that gate there is an other like vnto it: and on the sides twoo other lesse, one of eche side crosses, so that the great cowpe hath iij gates, ij great and ij small, the quarters or sydes whereof arr of brasse, iij quarters of a yarde hrode

¹ Lattice.

and half a yarde thickc, excellently well kerved wth leaves and dovises astre their maner; so wrought in wth beaten golde and sylver that it is both morvailonsle and richo. Tho lettices of those gates haue certain great balles as biggo as loofes, and than certoin litell ones like orenges, wth branches that knytt loofe to loofe, as I romembre I haue seene it ones graven in wooddo in a certoin plac. The workomanship of the golde and syluer is so excellent that thore is no man in o^r pties that durst take tho like in hande wthout very gret tyme. The citie is great enough, conteineng iiiij myles in circuito, and is well furnisshod of water. And if it were by none other but by the name only, it appeareth that it hath been very notable. Indede, it is nowe but ovill enhabited, having betweno vij and viij^{ml} people in it; padventure more.¹

Whilst I laio in this citio, I had worde that the king, being aduertised, as is aforesaid, that his sonne had taken Syras, removod wth all his people on his waie thitherwardos. Wherfore, immediately I departed from Soltania, and went to CHULPERCHEAN, which signifieth in o^r tonge the lordes sklave, a litle towne, though by tho rewynes of it, it seemeth to hano had goodly bnyldengs, being of ij miles circuite, and conteyneng about v^e houses; in which place mync interpreto^r died. So that, from thensfoo^rthe, as longe as I remayned in those pties (for the space of v yeres astre), I coulde never findo any that vndrestode my langaige. Whereforo I was driven to take the office of interpreto^r vpon me, contrary to the maner of all other ambassador^s. Departeng thenso I repaired towardes the king, who hasted his io^rney towardes SYRAS, in which io^rnoy I noted in him one mer- vailonse pointe of soveritie. Amongest others about him there was one Coscadam, an aged man, of lxxx (and yet a lnsie man of his person), who had either v or vj sonnes, and all in good repnta^con wth the king. This man being of bono^r was, by the king, comaundered to bo taken: bicансо ho

¹ Soltaniah and its great mosque are now in ruius.

was aduertised that his sonne Ogurlu Mahumeth (whe had wenne Syras, had writhen certein I'res vnto this Cascadam that were not shewed to the king.¹ Wherefere, he caused first his hearde to be shaven, and then made him to be had to the shamhles, wheare he was strypped, and had twoo of these hookes, wheren the bechee² vso to hange fleshe, driven in behinde his shouldres, en' either side one: hy the which he was hanged by lewe, wheare the fleshe is wento to hange, and lyved twoo howres afstre. Newe, by that I conlde learne, the said Ogurln Mahumeth, hearing ef his fathers ceming to Syras, departed thense, and kept himself abroade; writeng vnto an vnkle of his to be meane vnte his father fer him. Offering to submytt himself and te he in any place wheare it shulde please his father to appeinct him: se that he might hane wherew'hall to lyve.³

All this regien of Persia hitherto, by the waie that wo came was verie harayn, drie, sandie, and stonye, having fewe waters, so that wheare water is there be some townes: theugh fer the more parte destroied: every ef which townes hath a castell fertified ef earthe. Their cornes, vines, and fruictes encrease by ferce ef their water; fer wheare water is skarse there is harde dwelling; nevertheles, they vse to cenvaigh their water vnder earthe iiiij and v daies ierney from the ryvers, whense they fetche them, and that in this maner. Neere to the ryver they make a pitt like vnto a well, frem whense thou felowe, diggeng by lyvells towardes the place they meano to bringe it to; se that it may evermore distende chanell wise: which chanell is deeper than the betome of the feresaid pytt, and whan they hanod digged about xx paces of this chanell, than digge they an other pitt like to the first,³ and so from pitt to pitt they conveigh the water alengest these chanells whither they well. And whan

¹ Ramusio has—which he refused to show to the king.

² So that his life might be spared.

³ These pits are for removing the earth to make the conduit, or *kanad*.

they haue finisshd thiē worke than open they tho skluse of the pitt towardes the ryver, and eo letting in the wator, convey it to thcir townes, and whither they woll, fetching that through the botome of mountaignes that is had out of the deepe of the ryvors. For if they did not thus therō coulde he no dwelling there; considering that it raynoth vory seldome, insomch that I saied to those of tharmie their cuntrey was very barayne. Whearevnto I was answered that I needed not to mervaile, bicanse the waie they tooke was freshe, so that they fonnde the bettor pasture and the cuntrey the holsōmor. In those pties arr no woodes nor yet trees, no not so much as one, except it be fruite trees, which they plante, whereas they may water them; for otherwise they woldo not takc. The tymber wherew^h they huylde arr trees which they eett in watrie places, in enh nombro as suffiseth for their necessitie. The rather for that they hane excellente carpentere, who, being constreyned of necessitio to sparre woll of one peece of tymber of two spannos in compasse eawed into boordes, mako an handesome dooro of two paces longo, so woll wrought outwardes and a^q well ioynded, that it ie a wonder, aftre which maner they also make their wyndowes and other things meete for their householde. In dede, w^hinfoo'the the peeces of their ioynengs may well be discerned. Of thiē they also make chestes; and for proofe that there he none other trees, great nor small, neither on hill nor plaine, I have sometimes founde a shrubbe of thorno, on tho which, as it were for a myracle, I hane seene certain peeces of cloth and ragges hanging, in token that the feaver and other infirmities arr healed there. And, notwithstanding the great molitude of people that is in their campe, yet ahall yo^w not heare any one mourning or lamenting; for they arr all meerie: synge, plao, and laugh.

Folowing on o^r io'ney we came to a towne called SPAHAM,¹ which hath been a notable tonne till of late, walled wth mudde

¹ Ispahan.

and ditched, hauing about iiiij myles in circuyto, and, rekenyng the snhvrhes, aboue x mylos: in which snbvrbes arr no less goodly houses than w'lin the walles. I vndrestode that, hy reason of the moltytude of the people amongst the which were nombres of good men, heing also ryche, sometimes they disobeyed their king. And, ahont xx yeres passed, one GIANSA heing King of Persia, came to this towne to reduce the same to ochedience, and haning taken ordre wth them, deputed. Bnt shortly afstro they rebelled againe; wherevpon he sent an armye thithor wth comaunderment, that whan they had sacked and burned tho towne, every man at his reto're shulde bringe one of thinhahitaunts heades wth him: which they fulfilled so exactely that (as I hane hearde some of them reporte which were in that armie) they that coulde not gett mennes heades cutt off womens heades and shaved them, to fulfill the kings comaunderment. By reason whereof, thoy overthrew and destroied the whole towne; nevertheless, the vjth parte of it is nowe enhahited again. It hath many great and notable antiquities, amouest tho which the chiefest is a sqnare cisterne, wth cleere and sweote wator, verie good to drynke, rounde abont the which is a goodly wharfe sett wth pyllars and vowltes: wheare arr innumerable roomethes¹ and places for merchaunts to bestowe their merchaundizes: which place is alwaies locked in the night for savegarde of the merchaundize. Divers other things and goodly monuments arr in this citie: whereof I woll forbear to speake, saving that in the tyme rehearsed (as it was saied) there dwelled aboue l^{xxi} persons. Afstre this, we fonnde a well enhahited citie called Cassan,² whcare for the more parte they mako sylkes and fustians iu so great qnantitye that ho who wolde bestowe xⁱⁱⁱⁱ dncates in a daie may finde enough of that merchaundise to bestowe it on. It is abont iiij myles in compasse, walled, and w'hontfoo'tho hath fairo and large

¹ Rooms.² Kashan.

suhvrhes. Than cama we to a walled citie called Com, very rndaly huyldad. It is no towne of craftesmen; fer they lyva of tyllaige, having many vinayardes and gardans and excellant good mellous; so great, that some one sholl waia xxx^{lb}, grena wthout, white wthin, and as sweate as suger; and the towne conteigneth about xx^{m^l} houses.

From thense, folowinge on or waia we came to Jex,¹ a towne of artificers, as makers of sylkes, fustians, chamledds, and other like. Soma may thiuka I tell more than trowtha in many things; navertheles, it is most trewa, as thay knowo that have saone it. This towna is walled, of v myles in circuite, wth very great subvrbos, and yet in manor they all arr wevers and makars of divars kindes of sylkes which came from STRAUA,² from Azzi, and from the ptios towardes ZAOATAI: towards the sea of Bachu, tha hest wheraof como from Jex, w^{ch}, wth thair wo'kos, do aftrewards furnisha a great parte of INDIA, PERSIA, ZAOATAI, CIM, and MACIM,³ parte of CATAV, of Bursia, and of Turchia; wherefore latt him that woll bia good silkes of SORIA, faire and well wrought, take of thesa. And whan any merchaunt cōmcth to this towne for wares, he gooth into tha FONDACO, rounda about tha A resorting place for merchautes to traficks in. which arr certein litlo shoppos, and in the middest a litlo square place, likewis wth shoppes, having twoo gates cheyned (bicaus horses shulde not passa through). This morchaunt wth his companie, if they ha acquainted wth any place, resorte thither to sytt: if not, they may sytt wheare pleaseth them in any of thosa shoppes, boing vj foote square a peece. And if they be divars merchaunts, lightly they takē eche oua a shoppe by himself. An howre astre tho sonna ryseng certein go about wth sylkes and other waros on their armes, passang rounde about wi'out speaking. And tha merchaunts, if they sea ought that pleaseth them, call the seller; and looko on his wares; the price whereof is writen on a paper sowed vnto it. If he lyketh them and the

¹ Yezd.² Astrabad.³ Tchin and Matchin, China.

price, he throweth them into tho litlo shoppo, and so dispacheth them w'hoут moore wordes. For he that delinereth the stuff knoweth the owner of the shoppe, and therefore deptonth w'hoat further question: which markett endnreth till noone; and aftre dyner cometh the seller and receaaeth his mooney; wheareas, if he fynde none that woll hyo at his price one day, than he reto'neth an other day: and so foo'the. They saie that towne requireth every daie twoo somptors of sylkes: which, aftre o'r maner, amonnteth to x^{m1} weight. As for chamledds, fustians, and such other, I saie nothing; for, hy the sylke they mako, it may easelie be gessed how much more they make of those.

All my iorney hitherto hath been sowtheast, hnt nowe I shall rete'no eastwardes, wheare the first towne in my waio was the city of SYRAS, heing very great, of xx^{l1} myles compasse, recknyng the suhvrhes w'hall. It conteigneth innmerable people, and is full of merchaunts; for all they that come from the vpper parties, that is to saie, frome ERE, SAMARCAHANTH, and Nisu,¹ taking the waie throughg Persia. do passs by SYRAS. Hither arr hrought many jewelles, sylkes, both great and small, spices, rewbarhe, and semenziaa, aad is of the King Assainhey, his domynion, closed w th | high muddo walles and dcepe dyches, w th | gates accord-ing. It hath a nomhre of excellent faire churches and good howses tryñed w th | MUSAICO and other goodly ornaments: and may conteigne cc^{m1} hoases, or padventure more. In which citie is very sure dwelling w'hoут any distarhance. Going hense, they departe out of Persia, and take the waie vnto Ere,² a towne situate in the region of ZUGATAI, which towne appteigneth to the sonne of the late Soldan Bosaith, and is very great, though not so higge by the iij^{d1} parte as Syras, wheare they make sylkes and other like workes as they do in Syras. I forhearo to speake of many castells,

¹ Samarcand and the parts beyond.

² Probably R6, a town formerly existing near Tehran.

townes, and villaiges that arr in this waie, bicause theroy is nothing in them notable. But from thense, somewhat northeastwardes, they travaile xl daies iorney through desertoys and harayn placos, wheare no water is to he had hut in such wcelles only as arr made for the purpose, and whereas is litle grasso and lesse wooddo. And than come they in the self same region of Zagatai, to a verie great and well enhabited citie called Sammarcahanth, through the which all the morchaunts and travailers that como out of Cim Macim, and Catay do passe to and fro. The towne is wcell replenished of artificers and merchaunts both. The lordes whereof arr sonnes to Giarda.¹ I went no further this weio, hut by that I leارued there of others, this Cim and Macinn that I haue before named arr ij verie great provinces, thinhabitants whereof arr idolaters, and theroy make they vessells and dishes of PORCELLANA. In these pties is verie great traffique of merchaundize, specially jewells and clothes, as well of sylke as of other sortes, and from thenso they go into the province of Catay. Of the which I shall rehearse as much as I knowe, hy the reaorte of an ambassado^r of Tartarie that came thense. I, being at Tana, happened one tymo to talke wth the saied ambassador tooching the cuntry of Catay, who telled me that in passeug throughgh the places hereafter mencioned, afstre he was ones entred into that cuntrey, his charges were borne from place to place, vntill he came to a towne called Cambale,² wheare he was honorably receaued, and lodging appoincted vnto him. And (as he said) even so the costes arr borne of all the merchaunts that passe that waie. Than was he hrought to tho princes presence, wheare, at his comyng to the gate, ho was made to kneele wthoutfoorthe. The place was flatt and plaine, very large and longe. At the vpper ende whereof was a pavement of stone, on the which tho Prince sate wth his backe to tho gatewardes. And on both sides sate iiij of

¹ Or Giansa.² Cambalu.

his wth their faces towrdes the gate ; and from the gate vnto these iij en either side stodo certein seruants of armes wth syluer staves, making a lane in the myddest. In the which lane, here and thore sate certein trowchemen on their heeles, as wemen de in o' parties. The said ambassado^r being brought to the gate, wheare he fonnde the things in thordre aferesaied, was comandned to declare his messnige: which the trowchmen declared again frem one to the othor, till it came to tho Prince. Wherevpon, it was answered that he was welcome and might reto're vnto bis lodging, wheare he shulde recenne a further answere: and that he needed no mere to reto're to the Prince, hut only to con ferre wth such as were therenvnto appoincted and sent to his lodging, who to and fro did so travaill, that he was beth speedylie and tbankefullly dispnched. A servnunt of the said ambassado^r and a cempaynef of his, whe were beth wth him, tolde me wenders of tho justice they vse in these pties. Amengest the which, this was one that heing on a daye in MADIAN¹ which signifieth the markett place, they did see a weman carieng n payle of mylke en her heade, to whom eue came that toeke it from her: nnd heginnong to drynke, she heganne to crye eut, Helas! hewe can wo poore wydowes carie o' goodes te scil? Wherevpon, he was incontinently taken, and wth a swcarde cntt in sender by the myddest: se that at ones ye shulde hane seene beth the blennde and the mylke gushe ent of his bowells whicb than bassado^r himself affirmed aftewardees to be trewe: addeng further that a certein weman weaving ef fustian, had drawen eut a shntell and laied it bchinde her; which shuttell, one that hy chaunce passed hy, toeke awaie nnd went on. But she, leeking backo and mysseng her shuttell, beganno to crie: and being tolde her that he which had it went there, he was incontinently taken, and likewise cutt by the middest. They saie that net only wthin the citie, hut also in the high

¹ The Maidan, or open space.

wnies ahroade, wheare men travaile, if there ho anythinge laied on a stene or other place, which, heing lost by the owners, hath been founde by others, there is no man so hardie as darreth take it to himself. And further, if any man on the waie aske an other whither he goeth, and that he of whom the qnestion is so asked do either suspect or mistrust the person that moved the qnestion, and therfore woll complaine: it shall behove the questioner to yelde a laufull reason why he asked it; orelles he shalbe pnnished for it: whcreby it appeareth this cuntry is of grent freedome and justico. As, toocheng their merchanndize, I learned that all the merchannt men which reasorte thither hrингe their merchanndizes into the RONDACHI, wheare the officers repaire to see it, and if they finde any thinge meeete for the Prince, they take that that pleaseth them, yelding the valewe for it in other things, the rest remayneth at tho merchaonts libertie. The small mooney they spende in this place is made of paper, which they yerely chaunge into a newe priute: for tholdo mooney at the yeres ende is brought to the mynte wheare the bringer reccaneth as much of the faire newe mooney, paing for it, nevertheles, aftre twoo in the hundred of good sylver; and than is the olde mooney throwen into the fyre. As for the golde and eylner, they sell it by weight, and of those mettalls, they also make cer-
tain great peeces of mooney.

As some
halles be
in Lon-
don.

I suppose theso Cataini be payncms of helief, thongh divers of Zagatai and of other macons that come thense, snye they he christened; for whan I asked them howe they knowe them to he Christians, they nnswere, hicause they haue ymages in their churches as we haue. It happened me whilst I was in Tana, the said amhassado^r heing wth mo, as I haue said before, there passed an olde man hy me, a Venetian, called NICOLO DIERNO, who sometimes ware a gowen of cloth, lyned with sendall, opon sleved, as in tymes past they vsed in Vcnice vpon a furred dublett, wth nn hoode on his

shulder and a twoopeny strawen hatt on his heade: whom the said ambassado^r wonderod at: saieng vnto me, This maner of apparaill vse the CATAINI to weare, and thy arr like vnto the men of o^r religion, and arr apparailed as we ha. There groweth no wyne in that cuntry; for the region is very colde, hnt of other vittaills there is plentie enongh. These, wth divers other things which I forheare at this pnt, arr such ae I learned of the reapo^rto of the said amhassado^r of Tartarie, and of his famyliars, as tooching the province of Catay, wheare I was not myself, and therefore retourneng hacke towards Tanris, liek as I hane spoken of the wayes east northeast, so shall I nowe declare vnto yo^r the waie east sontheast. First, we fonnde a citio called Chuerch, passing over those townes that we fonnde in the waie, of the which there is no notable thinge to ho rememhered. In this citie there is a pitt liko vnto a fountaigne, in the keeping of their TALAFTIMANNI; that is to saie, their priests, the water whereof hath great vertne against tho leaprie. Of which infirmitio I haue somewhat scene, not of experience, hnt of other mennes credulitie. For, at tho same tyme there passed a frenchoman that waie wth certain seruants and guydes, that were moores, which frenchoman was infected wth the leaprie: and therefore (as we were informed) travailed thither to hathe himself in that water. What became of him I wote not, hut the comon voice went that many were healed there. For whilst I taried there myself, I vnderstode notable things of the vertne of that water.¹

¹ Rambusio has here—"While I was still in that country there came an Armenian to procure some of the water, who had been sent by the King of Cyprus long before I began my journey to those parts, and returning while I was in the country with some of the water in a tin flask, came to Tauris two months after I had arrived there. He staid with me two days, and then started on his way to Cyprus, where, on my return, I saw the same flask of water hanging up on a pole placed outside a kind of tower, and was told by the people of the place that, by

This citio Chaerch is bnt litle; neverthelos, it is a throagh faro, for all thy passe throagh it that go towardes tho Redde Sea; that is to saie, vnto SINU PERSICO. In which sea there is an ilande that hath a citio called Ormnos, between xvij and xx mylee from the mayne lande: the ilando being a lx myles in compasse. That citie is great and well enhahited, hut they haue none other than well water and cisterne water; whereof, whan they finde any lacke, they arr faino to sende into the mayno lando for it, from whence they also hane their grayne. It yeldeth trihnte to tho King Assamhei, aad thinhabitaunts arr great makers of sylkes. And the merchaunts that travaill either out of India into Porsia or out of Porsia into India, for the more parte do all arryve in this ilande. The Lorde whereof is called Sultan Sabadin, who vseth to sende his barkes into India to fyshe for oysters of perles, and there looseth many; and whilst I remaigned on this citie theroyd arryved twoo merchaunts out of India with perles, jewells, sylkes, and spices. Into this golfe of Persia falleth the notable ryver EUPHRATEE, vpon the which vj daies io'ney vpwardes ie BAODATH, sometime called BABILONE, which was eo famouse, as the worldo knowth, though at this present it be for the more parte destroyed, not exceeding x^{ml} houses. Nevertheles, it is plon-tyfully victailed, haviag abundance of fructes: as dates, pistacchi, and other like, not only in great quantitio, bat Pistacchi
is a kynde
of delicate
nuttes. also of excellent goodnes: amongst the which arr qwynces of the taste and greatnessse of ours. Nevertheles, they hano qwinces that hauo no hardenes w'hin them, as o^r haue, hut arr most sweete in the eating, as o^r sweetest peares be. They also haao a kyndc of pomegranates, not very great, virtue of that water, they had not been troubled with grasshoppers. I also saw there certain black and red birds, called birds of Mahomet, which fly in flocks like starlings; and, from what I heard, destroy all tho grasshoppers they meet with. It is asserted by the country people that, wherever these birds know there is water of that particular kind, they fly towards it."

hut for the more parte wth n thyunc ryudc, which they pyll as we pyll oranges: and than may hyte it ncither more nor lesso than as it were an apple; for they haue none of those cores in the myddest, bnt even a litell in the botome, and the sweetnes of it is myngled wth n little sherpe. And eome theron he that wente the litle cornell which o^m hath wthin the graine, and eome other hane it so esote that y^e shall no moro feele of it in yo^r mowth to spyt out againe, than as if ye did eate of correyns. They also make much suger and pfect confeciones thereof, especially eiropcs, of the which they furnishe Pereie and other places.

Nowe, reto'neng to Ormuos, I shall somewhat saie of tho places that arr forneagainst it on the other sydo of the fore-said golfe northewardos, which is of the coste of Persia. These places arr enhehitid wth Macomottanes, and this golfe in itself is ccc myles hroade, and the places on the other syde of the golfe arr vnder the domynion of iii princes, Macomettanes. Comyng to lande eastsontheast, as the golfe goeth, at thende of it there is a citio called CALICUTH, of vorie great fame, being, as it were, a staple or a receipt of merchaunts of divers placee, as who wolde saye of those that come out of the golfe of Catay and from all those partes: so that elwaies ye shall findo a nombre of shippes—yea, and great shippes there. Bicanse there seldomē happcneth any great tempest. The citie is a passaige hannted wth merchanndise of ell sortes, and is hoth great and well peopled.

Retoneug alongest the coste, forneagainst Ormuos theron is a towne called Lar, a greet and a good towne of merchanndiso, about ij^{ml} hones: and is a passaige for those that go and come through this golfe lyghtely lande nt this towne. Than is there Syras, of the which I hane spoken before; and so folowing the waye yo^r como to n great towne called CAMARA.¹ And from thense, a daies iorney, ye come to n great bridge vpon the Byndamyr, which is a notable great

¹ Or Kinara.

ryver. This bridge they saie Salomon caused to be made at the towne of Camara, and there appeareth a rounde hyll which on thone side seemeth to bo cutt and made in a fronte of vj paces high: on the toppe whereof ie a plaine, and rounde about xl pillers called Cilminar,¹ which in their tongue signifieth xl pillere, every one whereof is xx yardes longe and as thicke as iij men can omhrace; but some of them arr decaied. Nevertheles, by that which remayneth it appereth to haue been a very faire mountement; for, vpon this plaine there is a mightie stone of one pcece, on the which arr many ymages of men graven as great ae gyaunts, and aboue all the rest one ymage like vnto that that we resemble to God the Father in a cerclo, who in either hande holdeth a globo, vnder whom arr other litle ymages, and before hym the image of a man leanyng on an arche, which they saie was the fygure of SALOMON. Vnder them arr many other ymagee, which seeme to ssteigne those that he aboue. Amongest whom there is one that seemeth to hane a Popes myter on hie heddo, holding vp his hande open as though he ment to blesse all that arr vnder him; liek as they looking towardes hym seeme also to gape fer his blisseng. A litle further there ie a great ymago on horshacke, seemyng to he of a beystorous² man: who they saie was SAMPSON; about the which arr many other ymages apparailed of the frenche facon, wth longe hears, and all those ymages arr of halfe relieno. Two daies io'noy from this place is a towne called THIMAE, and from thense two daies io'ney an other towne, in the which is a sepultnre that they affirme to be the tombe of Salomone moother, and over the samo a litle churche: whearein certain Arahike l'res is writen, as they eiae Mater Suleimen, that is to eaye, the moother of Salomon: the gate whereof is towardes the East. From thense, iij daies io'ney, yo^w come to a towne called Deheheth, wheare they vee tillage and making of fustians. Two daies io'noy

¹ Chehl minar.² Robust.

further ye come to a place callod VARGAEI,¹ which in tymo past hath been a great and a faire towne; but at this pñt it maketh not abone m^l houses, in the which they also vse til-laige and making of fustians, as is aforesaid.

Fonre daies io'ney thenso ye come to a towne called Deiser,² and üj daies io'noy further an other towne called Taste, from whense folowing that waie an other daios io'ney ye come to JEX, of the which I haue made sufficient mençon before. Thense ye go to Meruth, a litle towne, and twoo daies io'noy further is a towne called Guerde, in the which there dwell certein men called ABRAINI, which in myno opinion either be descended of Abraham orells hane Ahrnhams faith, nnd they weare longe henro. Twoo daies io'ney further there is a toune called NAIM, evill enhabited, not exceeding v^e houses; and twoo daies io'ney thense is n towno called Naistan, and from thense twoo other daios io'noy is Hardistan, a litle towne that maketh a v^e howses.

Three daies io'ney thense ye come to Cassan, which I han spoken of before, and from thense üj othr daies io'ney is Com, before named, and beyondc thnt one other daies io'noy is Saua, having about m^l houses. In all which plnces they vse tyllage and making of fustians. Three daies io'ney from Saua is a litle towne called EUCHAR,³ from whense in iij other daies io'noy ye come to Soltania, beforo named, and vij daios io'noy thonse is Tauris. Nowe, he that woldo de parte thense to travale towardes the sea of Bachu eastwardes, being of the region of Zagatai, shulde fynde these townes folowing, from Thauris to Soltania; viz., from Soltania to Euchar, iij io'neys; from Enchar to Saua, iiiij io'neys; from Saua to Choi, a litle towne, vj jo'reys; from Choi⁴ to Sarri, a litle towne, also iij io'neys; from Sarri to Lindan,⁵ a litle towne, iiiij io'neys; from Lindan to Tremigan, a litlo towne,

¹ Or Vargan.

² Or Deister.

³ Afshar.

⁴ Ramusio has, from Choi to Rhei, three journeys from Rhei to Sarri.

⁵ Or Sindun.

ijij io'neys; from Tremigan to Bilan, vj io'neys; and than come ye to Straua.¹ Of the which the sylkos called Strautaine take this name. This towne is neere to the sea of Bachu, and standeth not very holsomely. There groweth little wheate, wherfore they feede of ryse; of the which they mako their breade. In this towne, and in all the villaiges vnder it, whersas any water is to be had, they spynne and make course sylkes, and alongest the hankes of those ryvers they haue their howthes wth their cawldrons for sylkes; for they keeps great nomhres of sylks wormes and haue plentye of white mnlberie trees. In these qnarters arr innnmerable psrtriches, in such sorte, that whan the princ o other great psounaige maketh any feast, they bocyle of these ptriches and give everie man a dishe of ryse podaigo, and than psrtriches; so that all the psopl eateth; which to them arr not deynteth.²

Alongest the coste of the said sea arr many townes; that is, to witt, Straua, Lanzibeuth, Madrandani, and others; whereof, for this tymo, I speake not, but in thoss townes arr the best sylkes made that come out of these quarters.

And nowe, hsing come neere, me seemeth it not amysse to speake some what of the waie from TRABISONDA to THAURIS, going southwest; whereforo, first tooching Trahisenda, I saie that it hath been both a good and a great towne vpon the sea Maggiore. The lorde wheroof in tymes past hath had the tytle of Empero^r; for he was brother to Thempero^r of Constantinople, and wolde also hs called Empero^r himself, whereof all his successo^rs (though they wore no emperours bretherue) did, nevertholes, from one to an other vse, or rather vsurpe, this tytle of Empero^r. As for the towne, I shall neede to saie no more of it: bicauss it is sufficiently knownen over all. But, going thonso towards Thauris, as I haue said, southwest, yo shall findo many villaiges and litle castells, and hesides that ye shall travaill throwgh hilles and

¹ Astrabad.

² Are not much valued.

woodes, disenhabited, till ye come to Baihurst, tho first notable place that waie heing a castell, standing in a plaine valley, environned wth hyllos, stronge, and walled, and in a plentyfull soyle, the towne vnder the castell conteyneng m^ve howses, and is wthin the domynion of the King Assamhei. Five daies iorney further ye como to Arsengan, which hath heen a great citie, hat for the more pte decaied at this pnt. Going on west southwest ij myles farther ye come to the notable ryver EUPHRATES, over the which ye passe on a faire great hridge of bricke, of xvij arches. Than come ye to a towne called CARPUETH,¹ v io'noys from Arsengan. In this place soggiomed the wief of the King Assamhei, sho that was daughter to Themo^r of Trahisonda.² The place is stronge, and is for the more parte enhabited by Greekes³ attending on the said Queene. Following on, ye finde many little townes and castellets, till yo come to MOSCHONE, from thense to Halla, and so to Thene, which three arr stronge castells, and well walled, eche of them having about v^e howses vnder them: wth a great ryver rennyng alongest, which cometh not ferre from Carparth, abouo menconod, and hath passaiges by hoates. All tho people ouahiteng thos places vnder the iurisdicōn of these castells arr called COINARI, which in o^r tonge signifieth heardemon. Than going eastwardo ye come to a walled castell standeng on a rocke, called Pallu, the towne vnder it having about ccc houses vnder the which passeth a certein ryvor. Travaileng, than, still eastwarde, iijj io'noys further ye come to a castell called Amns, standing in a champaigne, yll enhabited. All the conntrey of Trahisonda, wth the confynes, breedeth plentie of wyne, and the vynes growe vp alongest their trees wthout any catteng, so that contynually in those pties one of our hoggesheades of wyna is lesse wo'the than a ducate. Thcir

¹ Kharput.

² For an account of this lady, see Travels of Caterino Zeno.

³ Ramusio has—and Caloieri, or Monks.

woodes arr full of nutte trees of the kinde of Puglia,¹ and many other good fructes they haue, and in some partes thoy mako certein wynes called ZAMORA. From thenso ye enter into TURCOMANIA, which heretofore was called Armenia; hnt now those that arr theron borne arr called Caracoilu; that is, to wete, blacke ewes, liek as they of the provinces of Persia and Zagatai arr called Accoilu, wh^{ch} signifieth white ewes: heing names of pties amouest them, as who wolde saie amongst vs, Guelfi and Ghibelliui, orells Zamhorlani and Mastruccieri, vnder which titles arr great pte takinges. After this ye come to a litle stronge castell called Mue, standing on an hyll amouest certein mountaignes, having a citie vnderneath it of iij myles compasse, very well enhahited. Three io'ney further is a fairo, stronge castell, in a place called Allarch,² standiug vpon a lake cl^{ue} mylee longe, and in the brodest l^{ue} myles hrodo. From which lake, xv myles northewardes, is an other lake of iiij^{xx} myles in compasse, wh^{ch} certein castells about it. Under Allarch is a towne of about m^l houses, and in hoth these lakes arr many ehippes that make their voyages into the soa. There is also vpon this seconde lake a towne called Cens, a good walled towne. One io'ney further costeog the sea, there is a towne callod Herzil,³ wh^{ch} a ryver and a hridge of v arches over it, and between Ceus and Herzil arr iiij other like hridges to passe over tho ryver. In Herzil is the sepulture of the mother of Giansa, which was King of Persia and Zagatai. Five myles distant from this place ye come to Orias, a stronge castell standiug on a litle hill. And so folowing eastwardes half a daies io'ney, yo come to Coi, not that which I named before, hnt an other of the samo name, and five io'noye thense yo enter into a champaiguc, in the which is a great citie heretofore dostoned by Zamherlan.⁴ Than shall ye finde diverse villaiges, and afro that an other lake of cc mylos longe and xxx myles hrode: iu the which arr certain

¹ Apulia.² Akhlat.³ Arjish.⁴ Tamerlan.

landes enhabited. Finally, ye come to twoo citics, Tessn¹ and Zerister,² whicb botwene both may make iij^{ml} fyres. Other notable thngs I haue seene none in these pties, saving that generally they make fustians, lyncn clothes, fryses, many rugges, and a litell sylke. They baue plentie of fleshe (specially of mutton), wynes, and other fruictes enough, which they conveigh into the sea Maggiore and to the townes about; wherefore, retro'neng ones againe to beginne at THAURIS, and going east northeast, sometymo to'neung north and too["]cbing a litle of northwest, passing over also dyvers places by tho waie of small accompt, not wo'thie to be spoken of, I saie that xij io'neye thense ye shall finde SAMMACHI,³ a citio in Media in the region of Tbozichia, tho lorde whereof is called SIRUANZA,⁴ whicb citie at a neede wolde mako betweno viij and x^{ml} borseman. It confyneth towrdes the sea of Bachu, wthin vj io'neys, which sea is on the right haunde of it, and on the lyfte hande is Mengrelia, towards the sea MAGGIORE, and Caitacchi, tbat inhabite about the monntaigne CASPIO. This is a very good citie; it hath betwene iij and v^{ml} houses, and maketh sylkes, fustians, and other thinges afstre their maner. It standoth in the great Armenia, and a goodo parte of tbihabitants arr Armeniens. Doparteng thens ye come to Derbentb, a towne, as they saie, buylded by Aloxandor, standeng vpon the sea of Bachu, a myle distant from the mountaigne, on which mountaigne it hath a castell that descendoth wth twoo wbynges; tbat is to saie walles, even into the water; so that the beight of the walles arr twoo paces vnder wator. The towne, from the one gate to the otber, is halfe a myle brode: and the walles tbereof arr of great stone, afstre the Romayn buyldeng.

Derbentb signifiotb in o^e tonge a straict; in somuch, that many which vnderstando the nature of that place do call it

¹ Tessuj.

² Shebister.

³ Shamakhy.

⁴ Shirvan Shah.

TEMIRC API; that is to saie, the gato of yron. And, truly, he that named it so, had vsry good reason: considering that this towne divideth MEDIA from Scythia; so that they which woll travaile out of Persia, Turchie, Soria, and the other lowe cuntreys, to passe into Scythia, must needes enter in at thone gate of this towne, and yssne at the other, which to him that vnderstandeth not the sito of those placos shulde seeme mervailouse and almost impossible; but thocacion is this. From the sea of Bachu vnto tho sea Maggiore, the streight waie, as it were, by lino, is v^e myles. All which grounde is full of monntaignes and valleys, in somo plces well inhabited hy certein Lordes of it (through whose territories no man darr passs for feare of rohbyng); but, for the more parte, it is disenhabited. And, if any man wolde determyn to passe that wais, leaving Derhenth, he shulde he constregnod first to go threng Giorgiana, and than threng Mongrelia, on the cost of the sea Maggiore, at a castell called ALUATHI, wheare is a mountaigne of so great hsight that it shall behove him to leavo his horse and to clymhe vp asoote by tho rockes, so that hstwene asconding and descnsding he shulde travaill two io'neys, and than oatre into Circassia, of the w^{ch} I hane spoksn in the beginneng, and that passaigs is only vsed by them that dwell neore it, hosides the which in all the said distance there is no passaige knownen, hy reason of the difficaltie of the places, wherefore reto'neng to tho purposo: the causo of this straict is, that ths sea eateth evcn to the verie mountaigne, wheare Derhenth standeth. And from that forwardes it is all rocke, wth vcry litle earthe. So that this straict endnreth about lx myles; nevertheless, the waio is somewhat apte to be travailed on horsebacke. From thense, tornong backwards on tho lyfte hande tho mountaigne torneth, so that it may he travailed: the same heing it that aunciently was called MONTE CASPIO: whearo arr certein gray freres and some priostes astre or Romayn facon. Tho people thoro inhabit-

eng arr called Caitacchi, as it is said before. They speake languaiges different ono from an other, and many of them arr Christians: some astre the Greekes, some astre tho Armenians, and some astro the Catholike. Vpon this syde of the sea there is an other citio called Bachu, wherof the sea of Bachn taketh name, neere vnto which citie there is a mountaigne that casteth foo' the blacke oyle, stynkeng horryhlyo, which they, nevertheles, vse for furnissheng of their lightes, and for the anoynteng of their camells twies a yere. For if they were not anoynted they wolde hecome skabbie. Over the champaigne of the mountaigne Caspio ruleth ono Tnmemhi, that signifieth in o' tongue lorde of x^ml, throngh-ont whose domynion thyo vse to make their houses coffyn-wise, even like to those houses that I made mençon of in tho first parte of this treatise, the principall heing made of a cercle of woodde hored wth holcs rounde ahont: the diameter heing a pace and an halfe, in the which they fasten certein litle staves that arr drawen into a litle cercle in the toppe; which they cever wth felte or cloth, according to their degrees, and whan they arr weary of dwelling in one place, then trusse they their houses on carts and remove to another place. Whan I reto'ned to this lorde there arryvod a sonne of tho Empero^r of Tartarie, which had maried a daughter of this lordes: whose father was than lately expelled out of his astate. This yonge Princo was entred into one of these houses, and was sett on the grounde, wheare ho was viseted hy some of his cuntrymen and hy some other also of the cuntry wheare he was. The maner of wth visitaçon was, that whan they came wthin a stones cast of the gate, if they had any weapons they laied them on the grounde, and than marcheng certein paces towards the gate thyo kneeled donno, which they did twoo or iij tymes, marcheng alwaies forwarde, till they came wthin x paces at the neerest, wheare thyo declared their matter. And having receaved their answer, reto'ned backowarde, never torneng their backes to the Princo.

I was divers tymes wth this lerde Tumeinhei, whese lief (by that I couldo pceave) was bent te he in contynuall dronkenes, wth drinkeng of wyne made of honey.

And sothens¹ we haue spoken of the things of the meuntaigne Caspio and of the nature of those that dwell thereahontes, me seemoth it not amysse to recyte also an historie, which I lately hearde of one Vincent, a blacke freere, berne in Capha, who for certain affaires was sent into those pties: nnd departed ahent x moenethes past, tho rebersall whereof serueth to good purpese fer e^r religiou. This freere reaported that ent of the Soldanes cuntrey there camo a ccertein secte of Macomettanes, cryeng wth an extreme fervencio in their faith: Dewne to death wth those Christians: and the more they approached vnto Persia the greater their nembre oucreased. Theso rybauldes toeke their waie towardes the sea of Bachu, and camo to SAMMACHI, and se to DERBENTH, and intu TUMEN, heing a mervailouse great nombre, thengh partely wth heut armo^r. And whan they were arryved at a ryver called Terch, which is in the province of TEZECHIA,² and about the mountaigne Caspio, whoaro arr many Catholike Christians, they slew them all, wheare so ever they feunde them, men, wemen, and children. Afstre this, they everranne the cuntrey of Gog and Maoog, which arr also Christians (though afstre the Greekish rites), nnd handled them likewise. Than reto ned they towardes Circassia, taking thoir waie twardes CHIRPICHNE and Charhatri, which arr both towards the SEA MAEGIORE, and there delte they likewise; never ceasing till they of TITARCASSA and CHREMUCHI wth stede them, feught wth them, and so discomfited them that there eskaped not xx of the hundredth which fledde wth a mischief towards their owne cuntrey. So that we may well consider what miserable astate the peore Christen men thereabonts do enduro. This happened the yere of e^r Lerdo 1486.

¹ Since.

² Ramusio has—Elochzi.

Of DERBENTH I shall tell yo^w one mervailous matter. Going from the one gate towardes this place, even till ye come vnder the walles, yo shall finde grapes and frnictes of all sortes, specially almons. On the other pte there arr neither fruietes nor any trees, except it he certain wilde qwynces; and so it enduroth x, xv, or xx myle of that side. And further, heing there, I did see in a seller ij ankers of viij^l a peece, and more: which declareth that in tyme past they haue vsed in those pties vcry great shippes: whereas, nowe, the greatest ankers thei hane arr hetwene cl and ccl a peece.

. Having hitherto declared that that appteigneth vnto those regions, partly hy heresaye, hnt most by that I hano seene; nowe, reto'neng to Thauris, I shall shoue what I did wth the King Assambei, whan, at his departing from Thauris, he bruted that he wolde go against Ottomanno, thongh hy divers tokens that I pceaued, I helined it not. He had in all as ferrefooth^l as I coulde esteemo hetwene xx and xxiiij^{al} good horsemen: and the rest that came for the fur-nyture of the campe were about vj^m men. As for women, children, and serunts, I shall neede to saie no more, hicano I hane sufficiently spoken of them before. Whan we had travailed viij daies wo tornod on the right hande towards GIORGINA, in the confynes of the sea Maggiore, into the wth onntrey we entred. For the king mynded to spoyle it, and therefore sent his skowtes afore afre their maner: being ahont v^{al} horses: which cleered the waie, the hest they coulde, hy felling and burneng the woodes; for their passaige laye throngh mightie mountaignes and very great woodes. So that we might see the fyre aferre of, and thereby knowe what waie to keepe. And thus was the waie readie made twoo daies io'ney into Giorgiana, wheare we arryved at Tiflis, the which being hahandoned (as the rest of all the hither parte of that region was) we tooke w'hont rosistenco.

¹ As far as.

And passing frem thens wo came to Gery and to certein other places thereabents ; which were all putt to sacke, as the like was deon te a great parte of that region. At leingth, the King Assmbei fell to composiçon wth the King PANCRATIE, King of Giergiana, and wth Giurgura, wbo con-fyneth wth the same king that they shnlde give him xvij^{ml} ducatee, and that he shnlde leave all the cuntrey to them except Teflie. Whorevpen tho King PANCRATIE and GIURGURA, myndeng to paie this meeney, sent vnto Assambei iij balasses, reasonable geod, bnt neithor so great nor so faire as thoso that arr wonto to bo shewed on Saint Markesaulter in Vонice. So that wban the King Assambci had receaued these iij balasses, he sent fer me te praise and to valewe them. But first, er I came at him, those ambassa-dor^m of the said King Pancratie and of Ginrgnra (that had brought the balssses) sent to me, praieng me te valewe them well, ceneidoring they also were Christen men. Whan I was come to the king, be cansed these balasses te be delivered unto me, and as I leeked substancially on eue of them, the King ASSAMBEI demaunded of me what it was w^rthe: wherenvnto, anewering that I thought him w^rthe iij^{ml} ducates, ho fell en a lawghing, saieng, O they arr very deere in thy cuntrey. I woll no balasses, but I woll hau mooney. As the voice went tbere wero at that tyme caried awaie eut ef those euntroys betwene iij and v^{ml} psens: and the places which we overranne wero on the lyfte hande towardes the region ef Giurgura. Cotathis,¹ belonging to the King Pancratio, is a litle tewnc standing on a litle hyll, wth a ryver vnder it:² over the which they passo a verie great bridge ef steno, and se ge towardes Schendor, a meetely stronge castell, wth a great ryver rennyng threwhg it, and is iij io'neys from Gory. Than, passeng eue other meun-taigne, yo^w descende into the cuntrey ef Assambei, in great Armenye. From wbense, iij daics io'ney, ye come to the

¹ Koutaia.² Ramusio has—called Fasso, formerly Phasis.

castel Loreo, and iiiij daies io'ney thens shall ye fynde the meuntaigne wbeare Noe, afstre the great flowdde, rested wth his arke, being a mervailouse high hyll wth a great plaine vndernetbo it, and is about ij daies io'ncy of circuite: on the which, both wynter and somer, the snowo contynually remaigneth. And joyneng vnto it there is an other litell hyll, likcwise laden wth snowe. Two io'neys further is a castell called Cagri, enhabited rounndc abont hy Armeniens, which celebreate afstre the Catholike maner, and hane twoo monasteries, the pncipall whereof is called Alengia, conteyneng l^{ds} monkes, observants of Saint Benetts Ordre, that celebreate their masses astro o' maner in their owne langnaige. Their Prior, afstre my reto'no to Venice, died, and one of that house came thither, who arryved at San Giovauni Paolo, in Venice, and came to my house to haue my comendaçon towardes o' most excellent Signoria, and the Busshop of Rome, that he might be made Prior of that house, being brother to the deade Prior.

Whan the King ASSAMBEI had conculded wth the King PANCRATIO and the forenamed GICRGURA, and receaved the xvjm ducates, he determyned to reto'ne vuto Thanris: wherfore, seing he ment uothing lesse than to mako warre on OTTO-MANNO, I tooke my leave of hym, entending to reto'ne home-wards throughg Tartarie, and entred into the company of an amhassado^r of the foresaid King Assambei, accompanied wth many merchaunts of Tartarie. Of whom I learned that, as I hauen writen in the beginneng, HAOMETH, sonne of Edelmugh, nephiewe to Thempor of Tartaric, was afstre his fathers death growen great about the foresaid Empero^r, which Hagmeth was hy his owne father given me ns my sonne, wherfore I was the more desyrouse to keepe on that waie, assnring myself to haue founde much curtesye at his hands. But the warres wro^r so great in those ptics, that I durst not folow my io'noy; and, being constrained to alter my purpose, retoncd therefore to Thauris in the yere of o^r Lorde 1478;

whearo, at myno arryvall, I founde the King Assambei so sycke, that the night of tho Epiphanie folowing ho died, leaving iij sonnes, iij hy one mother and one by an oþher. The same night the iij whole bretherne strangled tho iijth halfo brother, hoing a yonge man of xx yeres, and than departed thatstate amongst them. Than did the seconde brother cause tholdest to he slayne; and so remayned he king, in sñch sorte that ho raigneth even to this present; wherfore, seeing all things broyleng, I that by the fathers lief had takon good leave, both of the father and the sonnes, fell into the company of an Armenien that went to Assengan,¹ whearo he dwolled. And I had wth mo a boye of Sclevonie, which was onely lefte me of all those that I brought into that countrey wth mo. I apparailod myself wth such poore and miserahle clothes as I had, and rode both continually and speedylie for feare of those alteracions, which afre the death of such princes most comonly do happen. The xxixth of Aprile I came to Assengan, wheare I taried a mooneth, waiteng for the Carovana that shulde go to Aleppo. Departeng from hense wo founde Cymis,² Cassro, and Arapchir,³ which bo litell townes. Than came we to a good citie of merchaundise called MALATHEA, vndor tho Soldans domynion; from Assengan to this tewne arr many mountaignes and valleys, yll and stonio waie; though, in dede, there he certain houses by the waie and places not much enhahited. Being in this citie, at the cnstome houso, amongst those of the CAROUANA, wth whom I had accompanid myself: the cnstomer there went vp and downe pervsing them that shulde paie. And while I kept myself a loose looking whan the Carouana shulde departe, one of the same Carouana came vnto me, askeng me: What doest thou? The customer woll haue v ducates of the: hicause it is tolde him thou goest to Coz,⁴ which in o^r tonge signifieth HIERUSALEM. Wherfor

¹ Arsengau or Erzingan.

² Kumis.

³ Arabghir.

⁴ Kudus.

go excuse thyself. I went to hym, and, fyndeng him sitteng on a sacke, asked him what he wolde wth me. He hadde me go paie v ducates, and notwithstanding that all thoy of the CAEOUANA witnesseed for me (as I had told them before), that I went to Syo to seeke my sonne, and wolde therewth hane excused me, yet wolde he needes that I shuld paie. Syo is a place much spoken of in Persia and in all those pties, and is called Seghex,¹ which signifieth mastike. For there groweth mastike, which in their pties is very much occupied. This, meane while, one that (as I tooke him) was some famyliar of the customers, said, O lett him go; hut he psevered, saieung, Still tho^w shalt paie; hangeng his heado towardes the grunde. Wherevpon, the other chopped him wth his fyste vnder the nose: saieng, The Devill go wth the; that tho^w blounde sprange ont. So that the customer cried, Thou foole, tho^w wolt ever he a foolo, and therewpon ridde me out of the prease,² and badde me farewell. I tooke my horse and went wth the Caronano, and so travaileng fonnde divers castells, townes, and faire cnntreys, and being past the ryver of Euphrates arryved in Aleppo. Of the wth I shall neede to write nothing, considering it is a placce well enough knownen over all; howbeit, it is a notable great citie and very well traded wth merchandise. Departiug thense onr merchaunts deliuerned me a MUOHABIO;³ that is to saie, a guyde, wth whom I and my serūnt departed to come towardes the sea costes; that is, to witt, to Baruto.⁴ And, being on the sea side forneagainst Tripoli, we founde a great rewte of MAMMALUCCHI a shooteng, and certein of them pceaving my guyde, drewe their horses togither to cutt my waio; but I (pceaving they were disposed to do me displeas') badde my hoye go on wth the guyde, and I folowcd faire and softelie, till I ovrtooke them, they having passed on twoo boweshootes beforo me. And whan I came ncere

Mama-lukes
were the
Soldane
of Egypet
men of
armes.

¹ Sakis.

² Press or crowd.

³ Mukary, a muleteer.

⁴ Beyrouth.

I rode a litlo hesides the waie; wherevpon, one of thom callod me, howo fathor herken? I, wth a good countenanee approched, and asked him what ho wolde? He again asked me whither I went? I tolde him I went wheare as myno evill fortne ledde me. He asked me what I ment by those words. Mary (q^d I), a xij moonthes past, I sold a trusse of sylkes to a merchaunt man, whom I haue eought in Aleppo to haue had my mooney, wheare I haue myssed him. And nowe it is tolde me that he is goon to Baruto, I am faine to go afstre to seeko my povertie: which answores moved him so to pitio me, that he badde me, Go on, poore man, a Godds name. I folowed my waie, and overtooke my guyde: who, as eono as ho sawo me, beganne to laughe, saieng, Hay, hay, hay, meaneng that I had handlod the matter well to escape out of the Mama-lukes hands. For he couldo speake no Turkishe, nor I no Morosco. On this wise, I came to Baruti, wheare a fewe daies afstre arryved a shippe of Candia: on tho which, at her reto'ne, I passed into Cyprus; and from thense, by the holpe of Almighty God, came to Venice. And, seing I hane tolde the things belonging to the waies, me thinketh it reasonable to tell also the things appsteyneng some vnto their superstitione, some to their dissemblinges of roligion, and some vnto the yll entreatie that the Christians haue iu those pties that I haue travailed.

Comeung towardes SAMACHI, I laio in a litlo hospital, wheare was a sepulture vnder an arche of stone, hy the which was a man of yeres, wth a longe boarde and heares, naked all, saving that a litle beforo and hehind he was covered wth a cortein skynne; and he sate on a peece of a matt vpon the grounde. I greeted him and asked what he did? He answered me, that he watched his fathor. I asked him againe, who was his fathor? Wherevnto, he answered that ho is a fathor that doth good to hie neighbo', as this man did that lieth theroynd. Addeng, further,

that he had kept him company xxx yeres, by his lief tyme, and was so determyned also to do astre his death. And whan I die (said he), here woll I also be buried. Furthermore, he saied, I hane scene enongh of the worlde, and nowe am determyned thus to remaigno till my death.

An other tymo, heing in Thauris on Alsowles daie, which in like maner was than celebrated wth them, not that it is their ordinario daye; but that so it happened then: being in the place of buriall and standing somewhat of, I did see one sytt neere vnto a sepulture wth many byrdes about hym, specially crowes and chowghes: and believing that it was a dead corps, I asked them that were by what it might be? Wherevnto, they answered, it was a living saint, the like whereof was not in all that cuntrey; saieng further vnto me, See yo^w thoso byrdes, every daye they feede there: and whan ho calleth one of them, he comoth streight, for he is a saint: praieng me to go neere and seo it. We drowe neere, whin lesse than a stones cast: and thore might see that he had certaine disshes of meate and other foode, so that these birdes woldo flee ovon to the face of him to be fedde; but he putt them of wth his hands, and some tymes wolde givo some of them a litell meate. Of whom they tolde me many myracles astre their opinions, which, nevertheles, to men of good indgement may appearo expresse madnesso.

An other tymo I did seo one of these Dranis that folowed the king and fedde in the Co^te, whilst the King Assambei was in the great Armenia, nowe called Turcomania, who, as the king was removing to come into Persia, to go vnto the citie of Here against Giansa, then King of Pereia and Zagatai, throwe a staffe that he had in his hando amongst the disshes wheare they were eating, and vsong a fewe woordes, brake them all. And this foole was conuted a good foole. The king asked what ho had saied, and it was answered by them that vnderstoode it, that the king shulde obteigne the victorio; and discompsito his enemyo even as

Dranis
are madde
men ea-
teemed to
have
hollie
spirites.

he had hroken the disshess. Is it true, qd the king? Which heing confirmed hy them that had spoken it, he comannded him to be well governed till his reto'ne: promiseng to hono^r him and to make much of him. The king went foo'tho, discomfited, and elewe his enemye, tooke all Persia, even to Here, and rednced all the cuntrey about vnto his obedienco. And astrewarde, not forgetting his promiso, caused this foole to he brought vnto him and to he honerably entreated. Eight moonethes afstre this victorie I was present myself, and did see the maner of his entreatie. This man dayly caused all them to be fedde that came to his houso at a dewo howre: howe many eo ever they were. Causeng them first to sytt in a cercle: which (rekenyng them one tyme with an other) were never lesse than cc nor shouue v^o. And he everie day had hoth to lyve and to appaill himself right well. Whan the king shulde ride into the champaigne he was pnt on a mooyle wth a cassacke on his hacke and his handes honnde before him vnder his cas-sacko. For divers tymes he was wente to pliae peryllouse madde partes; wherfore there were many other of these Drauis that went hy him a foote. And being one daie in a pavylion of a Turke, my freende, there came in one of these Drauis, of whom this Turke asked howe this Drauis did? wheather he raged, spake, or woldo eate? To the which, he answered, that as he was accustomed, sometyme he madded astre¹ the moone, and sometime he wolde not eate in twoo or three daies, and wolde so rage, that they were constrainyd to bynde him; and that he spake well, but ferre out of purpos, and that he wolde eate such as was given him. But some tymes he wolde rent his clothes, wth other like ptes. And of this felowe, learned I the storie of his throwing the etaffe amongst the disshess, who, in dede, tolde it mo emylengly. The Turke, my frende, asked him, howe they did for mooney? mainteyneug so great a chardge; wherenvnto,

¹ According to.

he answered that there was a certein *sum* assigned vnto them, and if they needed more, more they had. So that it is to be coneluded madde men arr in good case amongst them, and that wth litle laho^r and lesse good workes the meynay may attaigne to he taken for saintes.

But retourneng to the comemoration of the deade, I saie that whan they celebrate that comemoration there assemble about the sepnltures a great nombre of men and women, oldemen and children, which eytt in plumpes,¹ wth their priestes, and candelle burneng in their handes. The priests either pray or reads in their language. And having finisched their reading and praieng, they canso their meate to be brought, even to the very place. So that the streatos arr full of folke, going and comyng to and fro that place of huriall. Thie place is iiij or v myles in circuite. And alongest the waie thither the poore folke lye, asking almes: some of them offering to saie prairies for their benefactor^s. Their sepnltures hane certain stones pitched vpright: wth Pres declaring the name of the hodie huried; and some haue a litell chappell walled over them. This suffiseth too^{wch}eng their superstition. Wherfore, too^{wch}eng their dissemhling in religion, I shall recite ono vnto yo^w, wissheng to God that amongst va Christen men, either there were no such dissemhling or that it were punieshed as this was that I shall tell you. The first whereof me eeemeth wro very good, and the seconde not amyese.

There was a Macomettane saint afre their maner, who went naked as a beast, preaching and speaking so much of their faith, that he had gotten right good credito. And having a great reconrse of ydeote people that folowed him, he could not be so satisfied, hut wolde needes go close himself in a wall, pretending to fast xl daies wthout meate; not doubting hut to passo it over in healthe wthout any detryment to his hodie. And heing determyned to prove this

¹ Crowds, clumps.

mastrie,¹ he caused hricke to be brought into a forest. Of the which, wth morter and snc hyme as they vso in thos pties, he made a litle rounde houso, into the which ho mured himself. And heing founde at the xl daies endo alyve and sowndo, tho people woondred at hym. But one more wylie than the other smelte in that plac a certein savor of flessho, and, cansing it to be digged, founde the frawde. This came to the kings eares, who causcd the CADILASHCAR² to be apprehended, and a certein disciplo of his also, who, wth small torment, confosse that he had broken an hole into the wall: throughe the which ho putt in a litle cano, and so conveighed hrothe and other sahstanciall things into hym by night; whorefore they both suffred death.

And, as too^wcheng tho yll handling of the Christians that I hane seene there, I shall recite that I learned in the yore 1487, in the mooneth of Decembre, of one PIETRO DI GUASCO, a Genowais, borne in Capha, who, whilst I was in Porsia, came thither, and was there wth me about iij moonethes. He heing enq'red of for newes of thos parties, tolde me, that heing on a daie in Thhaaris, an Armenien called Choza³ Mirech (who wae a riche merchaunt in all wares) stooode in a certein goldsmythes shoppe, wheare came vnto him a saint astre their maner called Azi:⁴ willeng him to rynege tho faith of Christ, and to make himself a Macomettane: wherevnte he mado curteyse answero, praieng him not to trowhlo him; hut tho ther psevered, still callong on him importunately to rynogo. He againe shewed him mooney, intending therewth to pacifie him; hut the saint wolde no money, persevering still that he wolde haue him rynege. Wherevnto, Choza Mirech answered that ho wolde not rynege, hut psever in the faith of Jesu Christ, as he had doon hitherto. Whorevpon this ryhaulde drewe a swearde ont of an other mannos sheathe hy, and strako Choza so on

¹ Masterly operation.

² Kady Leahker, judge of the troops.

³ Khoja.

⁴ Hajy.

the heade that he slew him, and incontinently fledde. There was a sonne of his in the shoppe of xxx yeres olde, or thore-abonts, that beganne to weope, and doparting out of tho shoppe, went towards tho co'te, and censed the king to be enformed of it: who, seemyng to be mervailously offended wth hall, comaundered the saint shulde be apprehended, sending abroade streight to seeke him. So that he was founde in a citie ij daies iorney from Thauris, called MEREN, and was bro^wght to the kings presence; who called for a knyfe, and wth his owne hand slew him, comannding his bodie to be throwen into the streate, and there to bo lefte, that the dogges might eate bim. Askeng wheather this were the waie to encrease the faith of MACOMETT? But whan the night drewe neere, divers of the people, those that were most ialonse of their religion, went vnto one DARUIS CASSUM, who had the custodie of the King ASSAMBEY, his sepulture, father to the king that now is: being, as who wolde saie, the Prio^r of thosпитall wth vs, a man of accompte and reputaⁿon, that had been Treasurer to the king before, and besonght him to give them leave to take awaie that bodie that the dogges shulde not eate it. He, thinkeng no further, gave them leave, so that the people tooko him and buried him: which whan the king vnderstode, being shortly astre (for the streate is neere vnto his palaice), he comaundered DARUIS CASSAM to be taken and brought vnto him, to whom he saied: Darrest, tho^w comanne^de contrary to my comannde^ment? Well, lett him dye, wherevpon he was incentinently slayne. That doon, he saied further, syns the people hath transgressed my comaunderem^t, the whole towno shall suffer for it, and be putt to sacke. And so his people beganne to sacke the towne to the mervailouse feare and disquieting of all men, which endured for iij or iiij howres, and than comaundered he them to staie and to leave sacking. But for all that he taxed a certein some of golde vpon them of the towne; and finally sent for the sonne of this CHOZA MIRECH

vnto him, whom he comforted and chearished wth verie good and gratiouse woordes ; for this CHOZA MIRECH that was slayno was a notable ryche merchannt man, and of verie good fame. Wherfore this suffiso now, both too^{ch}eng the evill entreatie of Christen men in those pties, and also to the ending of this seconde parto, and of tho whole wo^ke described by me wth the best order I coulde, considering the great varietie of things, of places, and tymes.¹ to the praise of o^r Lorde Jesu Christ very God, vnto whom we Christen men, and spetially borne wthin o^r most excellent citie of Venice, arr much more hounde than arr these harbarouse people, which arr ignoraunt of all good maner and full of ovill customes.

¹ Ramusio has here—I finished the writing on the 21st December, 1487.

THE END OF THE VOYAGES OF M. JOSAPA BARBARO
TO TANA AND TO PERSIA.

Letter addressed by the same author to the
Rev. Monsignor Piero Barocci, Bishop of Padua,
in which is described the herb Baltracan,
used by the Tatars for food.

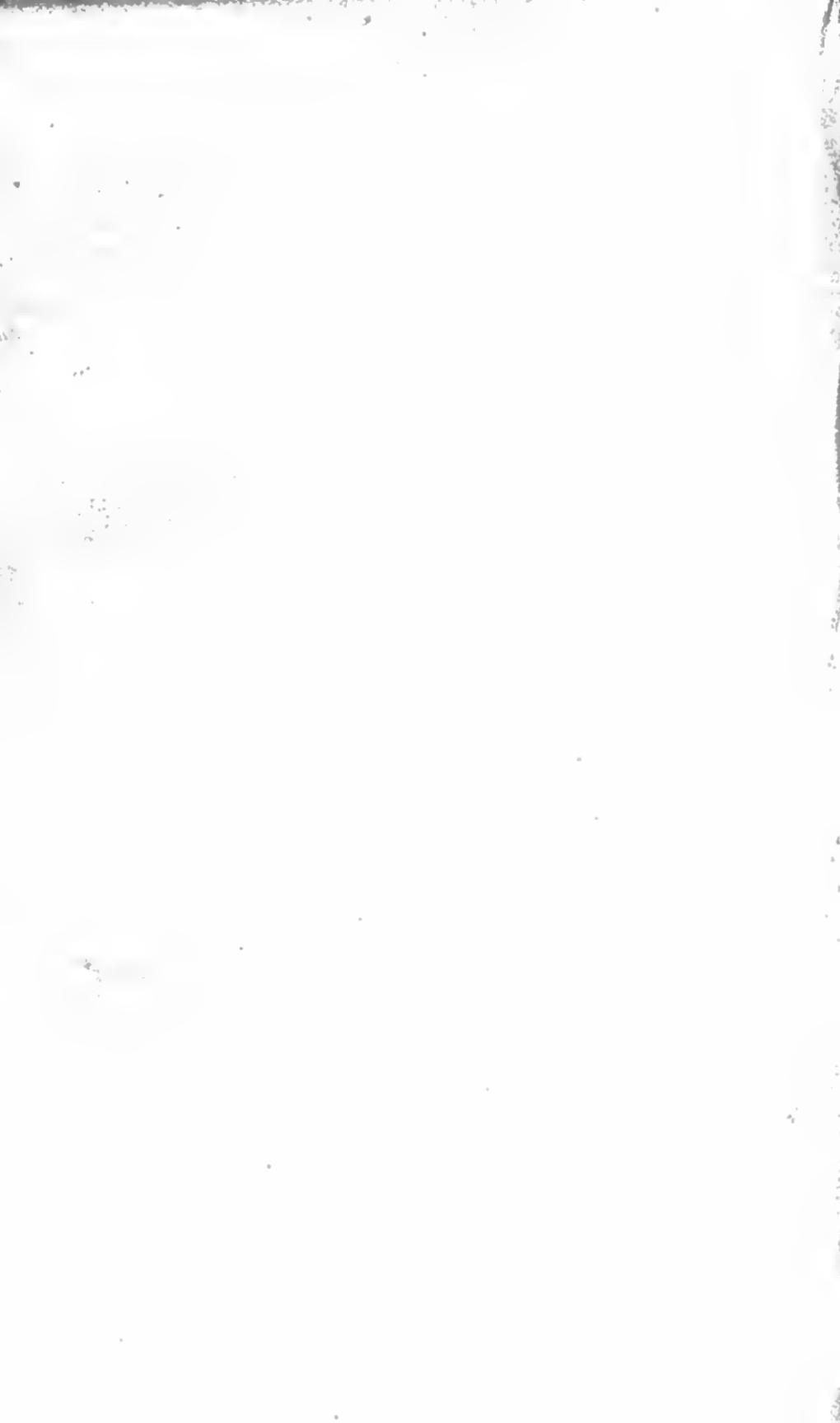
MY LORD,—Having heard from my brother M. Anzolo, who had the happiness to stay with your Grace many days in those pleasant mountains of the Padovano, how much you delight in hearing of the nature of plants, especially of those which are not generally known, I wished, in order not to fail in my duty towards your Grace, to write you a description of one I remember among many others, which I saw in Tartary, during my stay at Tana. The Tartars have a plant in their country which they call Baltracan, the want of which would cause them great suffering, and prevent them from going from place to place, especially across those great deserts and solitudes, where they find nothing to eat except this plant, which supports them and gives them vigour. Accordingly, as soon as its stem has grown up, all the merchants and other people who wish to go long journeys, start in security, saying, "Let us go, for the Baltracan has grown." And should one of their slaves escape when the Baltracan is grown, they abstain from following him, as they know that he can find support anywhere. And when they march with the *lordo* they carry supplies of it on carts and on the croups of their horses and even on their shoulders, for their sustenance, nor do they mind the load, so pleasant is its perfume. When any of it was brought to Tana, we merchants immediately ate of it. Nor must I omit to mention, that when in Albania, where I had been sent as Proveditore, after my return to Venice, as I was riding towards Croatia with five hundred persons, I saw

some of this Baltracan at the roadside, which I began eating; after which, the whole company waited to taste it. When they had tasted it, it came so much into use, that everyone carried bundles of it; those who were not on horseback carrying it on their shoulders. This they did, not so much from necessity, as on account of its good flavour and smell, and the Albanians shouted out Baltracan, Baltracan. I subsequently saw some of this Baltracan at Terrarsa in the Padovana; and, in order that your Lordship may know it, when searching for it in those mountains, I will describe its form in a few words. It has a leaf like that of the rape, with a stem thicker than one's finger, which, at seedtime attains a height of more than a braccio. The leaves spring from the stem at the distance of a quarter of a braccio from each other. Its seed is like that of fennel, but larger. It has a pungent but pleasant taste, and when it is in season, it is broken as far as the soft part. It has a smell of rather musty oranges, and from its nature requires nothing to flavour it, so that it can be eaten without salt. I consider that, at the proper time, it may be sown like other seeds, especially in temperate places and in good soil. Each stem has a root of its own, and is hollow in the interior. The bark of the stem is green inclined to yellow. But, I believe that those who would not know it by any other characteristic, would know it by taking notice of its seeds. The Tartars and all who are acquainted with it, boil the leaves in a kettle with water, and when they have allowed the liquor to cool they drink it as though it were wine, and say it is very refreshing; and I can affirm that it is so from my own experience. Recommending myself to your Grace,

I am your Grace's servant,

JOSAFAT BARBARO.

Venice, this 23rd of May, 1491.



THE TRAVELS
OF THE
MAGNIFICENT M. AMBROSIO CONTARINI,
AMBASSADOR OF THE ILLUSTRIOUS SIGNORY OF VENICE TO
THE GREAT LORD USSUNCASSAN, KING OF PERSIA,
IN THE YEAR 1473.



THE TRAVELS OF THE
MAGNIFICENT M. AMBROSIO CONTARINI.

I, AMBROSIO CONTARINI, the son of Meeser Benedetto, having been chosen ambassador to the Illustrious Lord Ussnncassan, King of Persia, by our Illustrious Signory in the Council of Pregadi,—notwithstanding that such a mission appeared to me arduous on account of the long and perilous journey,—I resolved, in deference to the earnest wishes of our Illustrious Signory, and for the universal good of Christianity, and the honour that would accrue to the name of our Lord Jeeus Christ and His Glorious Mother, to put aside all fear of peril and go cheerfully and willingly for the service of our Signory and Christianity; and deeming that an account of a journey of such importance and length might be interesting and useful to our descendants, I intend, with as much brevity as possible, to relate what occurred to me from my departure from Venico, on the 23rd of February, 1473 (the first day of Lent), until my return, on the 10th of April, 1477, and describe the towns, and provinces through which I passed, as well as the manners and customs of their inhabitants.

CHAPTER I.

The Serene Ambassador leaves Venice, and, passing through Germany, Poland, Lower Russia, and the great desert of Tartary in Europe, arrives at the city of Cafâ.

I left Venice on the 23rd of February, 1473, accompanied by the venerable priest Stephano Testa, as my chaplain and secretary; Dimitri da Setinis, as my interpreter: and Ma-pheo da Bergamo and Zuanno Ungaretto, as my servants. We were, all five, dressed in thick clothes, in the German fashion. The money with which I was provided was sewn np partly in the skirts of the priest Stephano, and partly in my own, and did not fail to cause us some trouhle. With these four I embarked for San Michiel da Murano, where, after hearing Mass, the Prior, at my request, signed us all with the wood of the Cross, immediately after which we left, with his blessing, for Mestre. Here five horses were provided for us, on which, by God's help, wo reached Troviso, as, notwithstanding all my endeavours, I had heen unable to procne a guide for any amount of money.

On the 24th I set ont for Conegliano, where, considering it my duty, on so long and perilous a journrey to confess and take the sacrament, I did so, with great devotion, together with my retinuc.

On the 26th, having left Coneglian in the morning, I met a certain Sebastiano Todesco, who said he was going our way. As he appeared to know me and where I was going, and offered to accompany ns as far as Nuromberg, I certainly looked npon him as one sent hy God. We all six set out together, and, travelling every day, entered Gormany, whero I found many heantiful castles and towns belonging to various lords and hishops, who are all, however, under tho allegiance of the Most Serene Emperor. Among other places I saw Augshurg, a very beautiful city. And after we had visited Bercemsiurch, a walled city helonging to the

Emperor, and had gone abont five miles boyond, Sebastian left us after a cordial embrace, and took the road to Frankfort.

On the 10th of March, 1474 (?), I arrived with a guide at Nnremborg, a most heautiful city, with a castle, and a river running through it. As I was looking for a guide, with whom to continue my journoy, my host comforted me by suggesting that I should accompany two amhassadors of His Majesty the King of Poland, who, he informed me, were then in that city. This news gave me great satisfaction, and I immediately sent the priest Stefano to make kuown to them who I was, and to say that I should be glad to speak with them. Whon they had heard my message, they sent word back, that I might accompany them if I felt so disposed. I went then, and founrd that they were persons of high rank. One was an Archbishop; the other Meeser Paul, a knight. After salutations were exchanged, I showed them that I was the bearer of credentials for their sovereign; and, notwithstanding my dress, they treated me with much hononr, and received me willingly into their company, with liberal offere of assietance. I waited for them in Nuremberg until the 14th of March.

March 14th. On this day we started from Nuremberg in company with the ahovementioned amhassadors. There was also an amhassador of the King of Bohomia, the eldest son of the King of Poland; and there might have been sixty horsemen. Riding through Germany, wo lodged sometimes in very good towns, but generally in cities and fortresses, of which there are many both handsome and strong and worthy of heing remombered. But as Germany is pretty well known, either by sight or report, I shall refrain from mentioning her cities and castles. From the above-named day, nntil the 25th, we continued travelling in Germany, in the country of the Marqnis of Brandenburg, Duko of Saxony. Again entering the territory of the Mar-

quis of Brandenburg wo reached a fine walled city called Frankfort, where we remainod till the 29th. As this city is on the confines of Germany and Poland, the Marquis sent a number of armed men, in excellent order, to escort the amhassadors until they arrived in their own country.

On the 31st, we entered Messariga,¹ the first town belonging to the King of Poland. It is small, but handsome, and has a small castle.

On the 2nd of April, 1474, we arrived at Posnama² without having passed any place of importance. Posnama deserves notice on account of the heanty of its streets and houses ; it is also much frequented hy merchants.

On the 3rd, we left Posnama, with the idea of finding the king. In travelling through Poland we found neither cities nor castles worth mentioning ; und with regard both to lodgings and other things the country is very different to Germany.

On the 9th, which was Holy Saturday, we entered a city named Lancisiu, where the King of Poland was then residing. His Majesty sent two gentlemen (knights) to receive me, and I was accommodated with very good lodgings, considering the place. The next day being Easter Sunday, I did not think it would be proper to visit His Majosty.

On the 11th, in the morning, I received from His Majesty a coat of black damask, and a request to attend his presence. And as such was the Polish custom, I donned the garment, and went accompanied hy many men of rank. Having made the requisite salutations, I delivered the presents which were sent to him hy our Illustrious Signory, and told him my business. I was then invited to dine with his Majesty. Diuner is conducted in nearly the same manner as with us, and everything was exceedingly well prepared and in abundanco. When dinner was over I took leave of His Majesty, and returned to my lodgings.

¹ Messeritz, forty-eight miles E.N.E. of Fraukfort.

² Posen.

On the 13th, the king sent for me again, and replied to what I had said on the part of our Illustrious Signory, in such kind and courteous terms as to confirm what is said among us, that there has not been a more just king than he, for many years. He ordered that I should be provided with two guides, one for Poland and the other for Lower Russia, as far as a place called Chio or Magraman, situated, beyond his territories, in Russia. Having returned thanks in the name of our Illustrious Signory, I took leave of His Majesty.

On the 14th, I left Lancisia with the above-mentioned guides, and travelled through Poland, which is a flat country, but with forests. Every day and night we found lodgings, which were sometimes good and sometimes otherwise. Poland has the appearance of being a poor country.

On the 19th, I arrived at a pretty good city called Lamberti, where there is a castle in which reside four of the king's sons (the eldest of whom may have been about fifteen years of age), with a most excellent preceptor, from whom they receive instruction. They requested me (I believe by command of their father) to visit them, which I did. The words addressed to me by one of them were very appropriate, and showed great esteem for the master. After making a suitable reply, and thanking their Royal Highnesses, I took my leave.'

On the 20th, we left Poland, and entered Lower Russia, which also belongs to the said king. Journeying till the 25th, almost all the way through forests, and lodging sometimes at a small castle and sometimes in a village, we arrived at a city called Insch, where there is a good castle, though built of timber. Here we staid till the 24th (?), not without peril, on account of the celebration of a couple of weddings: nearly all the population being drunk, and, on that account, very dangerous. They have no wine, but make a kind of beverage with apples, which is more intoxicating.

April 25th. We left here and arrived, in the evening, at a town with a castle called Aitomir, built entirely of timber. Leaving this place, we travelled on the whole of the 29th through forests, which were very dangerous, from being infested with discontented men of all conditions. Not having found a lodging at night, we were obliged to sleep in this forest without anything to eat, and I had to mount guard all night.

On the 30th, we came to Beligrach, a white castle, used as a dwelling by the king, where we lodged in great discomfort.

On the 1st of May, 1474, we arrived at a city called Chio or Magraman, beyond the confines of the above-mentioned Russia. It is governed by a Catholic Pole, named Pammartin, who, when he had heard of my arrival from the king's guides, provided me with very bad quarters, for the country, and sent me provisions, which were very acceptable. This city is on the confines of Tartary, and is frequented by merchants who bring furs from High Russia, and pass in caravans to Capha, but are often captured by the Tartars. The country abounds in bread and meat. It is the custom of the people to work from morning to tierce, and then to spend the rest of their time till night in caves, frequently quarrelling like drunkards.

May 2nd. Pammartin sent many of his gentlemen to invite me to dine with him. After the proper salutations had been exchanged, he made me great offers, and informed me that he had been commanded by his sovereign, to treat me with honour, protect me from every danger, and give me the means of passing through Tartary as far as Capha. I thanked him, and begged him to do so; when he said that he was expecting an ambassador from Lithuania, with presents for the Emperor of the Tartars, and that the emperor was going to send two hundred Tartar horsemen as an escort. He recommended me, therefore, to wait for this

ambassador, in whose company I might pass in safety, which I resolved to do. We sat down to dinner, which was exceedingly well prepared and abundant, and I received most honourable attention. There were present a bishop, brother to the governor, and many gentlemen; and there were also several singers, who sang during the repast. I was made to remain at table a very long time, to my great annoyance, as I required rest more than anything else. When dinner was over, I took leave of his lordship, and went to my lodgings, which were in the town, the governor remaining in his quarters at the castle, which was constructed of wood. There is a river, called Danambre in their language, and Leresse in ours, which passes by the town and flows into the Mar Maggiore. We waited here ten days for the arrival of the Lithuanian ambassador. On the morning we were about to depart, the governor wished that we should hear Mass, although I had previously told him that I had done so. When Mass was over we embraced each other, and Pammartin made me shake hands with the ambassador, whom he requested, with much warmth, to consider me as the person of his own king, and conduct me in safety to Capha. The ambassador replied that the command of His Majesty the King should be observed, and that I should be treated in the same manner as if I were the king himself. And with this I took leave of the governor, thanking him to the best of my ability, as he deserved, for the great honour he had done me. During the time I staid here I often received provisions. I presented the governor with a German saddle-horse, which was one of those I had brought from Mestre; and, as the others were entire horses, he wished me to leave them there, and take horses of the country. The king's guides were the best of company, and I treated them with courtesy.

On the 11th, we left here with the ambassador. I was on a carriage, which I had used since I left the king, on ac-

count of a bed leg, which prevented me from riding on horseback. We journaeyed until the 9th (?), when we arrived at a village called Cercas, which also belonged to the said king. Here we remained till the 15th, when the ambassador heard that the Tartars had arrived; we then left Cercas in their company, and entercd upon a desert country.

On the 15th, we reached the above-mentioned river, which we had to cross. This river separates Tartary from Russia towards Capha, and, as it was more than a mile in breadth and very deep, the Tartars began to cut timbers, which they tied together, and covered with brenches to form a raft, and our things being placed on it the Tartars entered the river holding on to their horses' necks, while our raft was attached to their tails by cords. Thus mounted, the horses were drivea across the river, which we passed by the help of God. How great our peril was, I leave my readers to consider,—in my opinion it could not have been greater. When we hed landed on the opposite bank, every oae put his things in order, and we remained the whole day with the Tartars. Some of the Tartar chiefs eyed me closely, and I appeered to he the subject of many surmises among them. We set out from the river and travelled through the desert country, suffering many discomforts of every kind. And as we wero passing through a wood, the embassador sent to tell me, by his interpreter, that the Tartars felt it their duty to conduct me to their emperor. He seid that, as they hed heard of the rank I held, I could not be allowed to pass Capha without being previously presented to their emperor. At this I was very much annoyed, so I urged my case to the interpreter, begging him to remember the promise which hed heen made as much to Pammartia as to the King of Poland, and I promised to give him a sword. Saying he would serve me, and bidding me take comfort, he returned to tho ambassador, and repeated what I had said. He then sat down to drink with the Tartars, whom ho assnred with

many words that I was a Genoese, and the affair was arranged by meaas of fifteen dueats: before hearing this, however, I was in great anxiety. In the morning we rode on and travelled till the 24th, with much hardship, having passed a day and a night without wator, came to n pass where tho amhassadors and the Tartars had to take the road to a castle called Chercher, where the Tartar emperor was staying. A Tartar was here appointed to accompany me to Caphà, and I took leave of the ambassador. Although we were alone and ia constant fear lest the Tartars should send after us, I was well pleased to be free from those coafouaded dogs who smelt of horse-flesh to such a degreο that thoro was no standing near them Travelling with my guide, we lodged, in the eveaiag, in the open air amoag some Tartar carts with their skia covering. Many of the Tartars immediately surrounded ns, and wished to knoow who we were: on hear-ing from our guide that I was a Genocsc, they presented mo with sour milk.

On the morning of the 26th, we left here before daybreak, and, about the hoar of Vespers, entered the towā of Caphà, thanking our Lord God, who had taken pity on our trouble. Having gone secretly to a church, I sent the iaterpreter to oar consal, who immeddiately sent his brother to tell me to stay till the eveaiag and then to come seerely to one of his hoases in the town, which I did. At the appointed time we came to the consul's hoase, where wo were well received, and where I met Ser Polo Ogniben, who had been sent by oar Illustrious Signory three months before me.

CHAPTER II.

His Excellency the Ambassador leaves Caphà, and after crossing the Mar Maggiore, reaches Fasso; then passing Mengrelia, Giorgiana, and part of Armenia, arrives at the country of Ussuncassan.

I cannot give many particulars concerning the town of Caphà, as I remained indoors nearly all the time I was there, that I might not be seen; but I will mention what little I saw and heard. The town is situated on the Mar Maggiore; it is very mercantile, with a numerous population composed of natives of every nation, and has the reputation of being very wealthy. While there, as it was my intention to go to Fasso, I hired a ship lying in the Sea of Zabacche, of which was master Antonio di Valdata, and I had to ride on horseback to this ship to complete the engagement. When I had concluded the business, a proposal was made to me by an Armenian named Morach, who had been to Rome and who acted as ambassador to Ussuncassan, and another old Armenian, to the effect that, instead of going, as was my intention, to Fasso, I should go to another place named Tina, about a hundred miles from Trebizond, and belonging to the Turk, and that, as soon as we had landed, we should take horses, and I was promised that, in four hours, I should be taken to the castle of a certain Arian, who was a subject of Ussuncassan, giving me also to understand that at Tina there was only a castle belonging to Greeks, in which I should certainly be placed in safety. This project did not please me in any way; but I was so persuaded by the consul and his brother, that I consented to it, although against my will.

On the 3rd of Juno, 1474, we left Caphà, accompanied by the consul, and, the next day arrived at the place where the ship I had hired was lying. I had engaged to pay seventy ducats for our passage; but, as we had altered our course

I was ohliged to pay a handred. And, as I was informed that there were ao horses at the placo at which we intended landing, I took nine on hoard for the use of the guides, and also to enable us to carry provisions through Mengrelia and Giorgiania.

On the 15th, the horses heing embarked, we set sail and entered the Mar Maggiore ; and, then bending our course towards the said Tina, sailed with a favoarable wind. Having sailed about twenty miles, however, without seeing that place, the wind veered to the east, contrary to us while we kept on the same course. Having noticed that the sailors were talking together, and wishing to know the subject of their conversation, I was told that they were willing to do whatever I wished, hut was assured that Tina was a very dangerous place. Heariag this, and seeing that it appeared as though our Lord God did not wish me to come to harm, I determinaed to make for Loati aad Fasso; and having come to this determinaation, the weather hecame favourahlo shortly afterwards, and we saited with good winds.

On the 29th, we reached Varti, and as the horses were out of condition, I had them put on shore and sent to Fasso,¹ a distance, I was told, of sixty miles. At this place a certain Bernardino, the brother of our captain, came on board, who, hearing that wo had intended to go to Tina, said that, if we had done so, we should all have been taken as slaves, as he knew for certain that that place was frequeted by a *Sobassi* with many horsemen, who acted accoding to their usual custom. Returning thanks to God, wo left this place. Varti, in Mengrelia, consists of a castle sarrounded by a town of small exteat, and belongs to a lord named Gorhola. Thero is aaother town on the Mar Maggiore, of little importaace, called Caltichea, trading in silks, canvass, and wax, of little value, and the people of evory condition are very miserable.

¹ Poti.

On the 1st of July, 1474, we arrived at the mouth of the Fasso, and a boat came alongside filled with Mengrelians, who behaved like madmen. Leaving the ship, we went, in this boat, to the mouth of the river, where there is an island over which, it is said, reigned King Areta, the father of the poisoner Medea. We slept there that night and were unnoyed by so many gnats that we could scarcely guard against them.

On the morning of the 2nd, we went up the river in the boats of the country to a city called Asso, situated on the river and surrounded by woods. The river is as wide as two shots of a crossbow. When we had landed at the city I found a certain Nicolo Capello da Modone, who had settled there and become a Mahometan; a Circassian woman, named Marta, who was the slave of a Genoese; and a Genoese, who was also settled and married there. I lodged with the woman Marta, who certainly treated me well, and staid till the 4th. Fasso belongs to the Mengrelians, whose chief is named Bendian. He has not much territory, as it may be traversed in three days, and consists principally of woods and mountains. The men are brutal, and shave their heads after the fashion of minor friars. There are stone quarries in the country, and a little corn and wine is also produced, but of no great value. The men live miserably on millet made hard like polenta, and the women fare more miserably still; and were it not for a little wine and salt fish imported from Trebisond, and salt from Capha, they would be very badly off. They produce canvas and wax, but in small quantities. If they were industrious they might procure as much fish as they required from the river. They are Christians, and worship according to the rites of the Greek Church, but they have many heresies.

On the 4th, we left Fasso with the above-mentioned Nicolo Capello as guide, and crossed a river named Mazo in a boat.

On the 5th, after passing through woods and over mountains, we arrived in the evening at the place where Bendian, the Lord of Meagrelia, was staying. This prince, with his court, was seated in a small plain under a tree. I made known to him by the said Nicold that I wished to spek to His Highness, and he had me sent for. He was seated on a carpet with his wife and some of his sons by his side, and he made me sit before him. When I had spoken to him and made him presents, he merely said that I was welcome. I asked him for a guido, which he promised to let me have, on which I returned to my quarters. He sent me, as a present, a pig's head, a little beef bndly cooked, and some bad hread, which we were compelled to eat from necessity, and I waited for the guido the whole day. In this plain there were a great mnny trees like box trees, but mnch larger, and all of an equnl height, with a path in the middle of them. Bendian was about fifty years of age, rather handsome, but his manners were those of a mudman.

On the 7th we left, nad travelled continually through woods and over mountaias, and on the 8th crossed a river which divides Mengrelia from Giorgania, and slept in a meadow on the fresh grass, without much provision.

On the 9th, we came to a small town called Cotochis,¹ where, oa a hill, there is a castle built entirely of stoae, containing a church which has the appearance of beiug very ancient. We afterwards crossed a very largo river by a bridge, and lodged in a mendow in which were the houses of Pangrati, King of Giorgania, the castle above mentioned belonging to him. We were allowed by the governor to lodge in these houses, and remained there the whole of the 11th, much annoyed by tho Georgiani (?), who are as mad as the Mengrelians. The governor wished me to diao with him. Wheu I went to his house he sat down on the gronad, nad I sat beside him with some of his people und some of

¹ Kutais.

mine. A skin was spread before us for a table-cloth, on which there was a layer of grease, that I firmly believe would have sufficed to cook a large cauldron full of cabbages. Bread, turnips, and a little meat, prepared in their manner, were placed before me, as well as several other unsavory things, which I certainly cannot recal. The蹭 went round, and they did all they could to make me as drunk as they were themselves, and as I would not drink, they held me in much contempt, and I left them with great difficulty. The governor provided me with a guide to accompany me to the place where the king was.

On the 12th, I left here and travelled over monntains and through woods, and in the evening was made to dismonnt, by the guide, on a meadow near a castle, situated on a mountain, in which resided King Pangrati. Here the guido went away, saying that he was going to inform the king, and that he would return immediately with another guide who would accompany me all over the country, and we were left in the middle of the wood in considerable fear, and we waited the whole night suffering much from hunger and thirst. Early the next morning he returned, accompanied by two of the king's clerks, who said that the king had gone to Cotachis, and had sent them to look after the things which I had, to put them down in a letter, in order that I might be able to pass through the whole of the country without paying anything. They wanted to see everything, and to take a note even of the clothes I had on my back, which I thought very strange. When they had made their notes, they told me to get on horseback alone, and wanted me to go to the king. But, as I tried by all means to make them leave me, they began to abuse me, and after much trouble I was allowed to take my interpreter. I mounted without having had anything to eat or to drink, and rode with them to the said castle of Cotachis, where the king was staying. Here I was made by the king to wait all

night under a tree, and he only sent me a small quantity of bread and fish. My attendants remained in the custody of others, and were taken to a village and placed in the house of a priest. One may imagine the state of mind we were in. In the morning the king sent for me. He was in his house, seated on the ground, together with many of his barons. He asked me many questions, and among others, whether I knew how many kings there were in the world. I answered at random, that I thought there were twelve, on which he said that I was right, and that he was one of them; and, he added, "And art thou come to my country without bringing me letters from thy lord?" I replied, that the reason I had not brought him letters, was that I did not think I should have come to his country; but I assured him that he was well appreciated by my lord the Pope, who recognised him among the other kings, and who, if he had thought that I should have passed through his country, would have had great pleasure in writing to him. This seemed to please him, and he afterwards asked me many strange questions, which gave me to understand that that rogue of a guide who had brought me had informed him that I had many valuables with me. And, truly, if he had found this to be the case, I should never have been allowed to leave the place. The clerks, out of the few things belonging to me, which they had noted down, took whatsoever they pleased, and insisted that I should give them to the king. On taking leave, I begged the king to let me have a guide to conduct me safely out of the country; and he promised to comply with my request, saying that he would also give me a letter which would enable me to traverse the whole of his dominions in safety. I then left him, and returned to my tree. I was obliged to importune the clerk very strongly, in order to get the guide and the letter, which I obtained at last, after much trouble.

On the 14th, I left the king and returned to the village,

where my people were staying, who, in consequence of the hind account they had heard of the king, made certain that I should never return. They could not have been more delighted if they had seen the Messinh, and know not what they did for joy. The poor priest seemed pleased, and prepared me food. We slept, that night, as well as was possible, and the priest made some bread to take with us, and gave us a little wine.

On the 15th, about tierce, we started with the guide, and travelled through the terrible woods and mountains of that accursed country, sleeping, at night, on the ground near water and grass, and being obliged to make fires on account of the cold.

On the 17th, we came to a place belonging to the same king, called Gorides,¹ situated in a plain, and having a wooden fort on a hill. A large river passes by it, and it is a very convenient place. As soon as the governor of the town had been informed of my arrival by the guide, he made me enter a house where I expected to have met with a good reception. After I had waited there a little time, however, he sent to inform me that the king had written to order that I should pay twenty-six ducats to him and six to the guide. And when I told him, with astonishment, that this could not be, as the king had received me well, and that I had already given him seventy ducats, and said much more which was of no avail, I was obliged, reluctantly, to give the money. He kept me till the 19th, and then allowed me to depart. I was very much annoyed during my stay, as the horses appeared never to have seen men before. Giorgiania is, however, ruther a better country than Mingrelia; but the customs and way of living of the inhabitants are the same, as are their religion and mode of celebrating it. We were told, when we had descended a high mountain, that in a large church, situated in a forest, there was

¹ Gori.

an ancient image of Our Lady, guarded by forty calviri (or priests), which was said to perform many miracles. I would not go there, as I had a great desire to get out of that accursed country, where I certainly underwent great trouble and escaped many dangers, to describe which would take much time and only prove tiresome to the reader.

On the 20th, we left Gorides, and went on, still travelling over mountains and through forests. Occasionally, we came to a house, where we obtained refreshments. We rested in places where there was water and pasture for the horses, and our bed was the fresh grass. We journeyed in this manner all through Mengrelia and Giorgiania.

CHAPTER III.

His Excellency the Ambassador arrives at Tauris, a royal city of Persia, where, not meeting Ussuncassan, he presents himself to his son. Leaving Tauris, he travels many days through Persia, and arrives at length at the city of Spaan, where he meets the Shah.

On the 22nd, we began to ascend a high mountain, the summit of which we had nearly reached at night, when we were obliged to rest, without water. We rode on again early the next morning, and when we had descended the mountain we were in the country of Ussuncassan; that is to say, we had entered Armenia. In the evening we arrived at a castle garrisoned by Turks belonging to Ussuncassan, called Lores, situated in a kind of plain, below which, however, passes a very deep river. On the other side there is a mountain, and, in front of the river, an Armenian village, where we were certainly well received and where we lodged until the 25th, partly for the purpose of resting ourselves, and partly in order to obtain a guide. The Armenian whom I had brought from Cafà, who said he was a subject of Ussuncassan, was found to be a great rogue, and I was told

by these Armenians, that I had been very lucky in escaping from his hands. I therefore kept back a horse, which I had given to him, and dismissed him, and took, as my guide as far as Tauris, an Armonian priest, who proved very faithful.

On the 26th, we five, together with the priest, left Lores and crossed a mountain, and in the evening came to a plain surrounded by mountains, and reached a Turkish village, where we were very well received, and we slept in the open air.

On the 27th, we started before daybreak to pass another mountain, on the descent of which, we were told, there was a village of Turks, which it would be dangerous for us to pass in the day time. We were fortunate enough to pass it at a time, when, I believe, we were not seen. We then entered a very fine country and made every effort to increase the length of our stages, taking little rest except at night, and sleeping in the open air. We thus travelled through this country until the 28th, when we reached the mountain of Noah, which is very high and covered with snow, from the summit to the base, throughout the year. It is said that many persons have attempted to reach the top. Some have never returned, and those who have returned, say that it does not appear to them that a way up will ever be found. Travelling until the 30th through a flat country, with the exception of a few hills of no importance, we came to a castle belonging to free Armenian Franks, who call themselves Chiagri, where we remained till the 31st to take a little rest, as we had provisions of bread, poultry, and wine.

On the 1st of August, 1474, we were obliged to take another guide for Tauris, and we started at vespers.

On the 2nd, we arrived at another tolerably good Armenian village, situated on the side of a mountain, where we had to cross a river in a strange kind of boat used there. It is said that on the banks of this river, but much more to the east, the Soldan Busch came to give battle to Ussun-

cassan, and that while Ussuncassan was on one side and tho Tartar on the other, the Tartars became so weakened by disease produced by scarcity of provisions that Ussuncassan routed them, and captured the Soldan Busech, whom he caused to be beheaded. We crossed this river, on the left bank of which are situated eleven Armenian villages near to each other, haviog their bishop and being all subject to the Pope. There is not a fioor nor a more fertile country than this in all Persia.

On the 3rd, we came to a small town called Marerichi, where we rested for the night.

On the 4th, we started early and travelled tbrongb the plains; the weather was excessively hot, and we could not find good water anywhere.

I mnst observe that, from the timo we lost Loreo, while travelling through the places I have mentioncd, we met a great may Turcomans, with their families, who were changing their quarters, in search of fresh pasture: it being their custom to remain encamped where the pasturage is abundant, until it is all consumed, after which they go in search of fresh. We also passed some of their encampmeots. These men are an accorsed race and arrant thieves, and cer-
tainly cased ns great fear. By making known to them, however, that I was going te their sovereign, we managed hy the help of God, to pass on.

On this day, about the hour of vespers, we entercd tho city of Tauris, situated in a plain and surrounded by dismal-looking earthen walls. There are near here several red mountains (monti rossi), which aro said to be tho Tanri mountains. When wo entered this city we found it in great commotion, and it was with much difficulty that I reached a caravanserai, whero we lodged. Passing among some Turks I heard them say, "These are the dogs who come to create a schism in the Mahometan roligion; we ought to cut them to pieces." Having dismounted at tho caravanserai, the

Azamo, who certainly appeared to be a good sort of person, provided us with a couple of rooms. His first words were to express astonishment at our safe arrival, which he appeared to think was a thing scarcely credible, as he gave us to understand, what I myself had observed, that the streets were all barricaded. On my wishing to know the reason, he said that Gurlumameth, the valiant son of Ussuncassan, had gone to war with his father and had seized one of the chief towns of Persia called Siras, which he had given up to the Sultan Chali and to his mother-in-law. In consequence of this Ussuncassan had raised an army and was marching towards Siras to expel him. There was a mountain chief also of the name of Zagarli in league with Gurlumameth and commanding above three thousand horsemen, who made incursions and ravaged the country as far as Tauris; and it was from fear of him that the streets were barricaded. He also told me that his Subassi, who had gone out to meet this Zagarli, had been routed and despoiled of everything, and was very thankful to return to Tauris. On my asking him why all the people of the city did not sally forth, he replied that they were not fighting men, but gave obedience to any chief who had possession of the city. I tried all means to leave Tauris and go in quest of the Shah, but could not find a man to accompany me, nor could I obtain any favour of the Subassi. I was, therefore, obliged to remain in the caravanserai, the master of which recommended me to keep in concealment. I was, however, sometimes obliged to go out to buy provisions, or to send my interpreter or a certain Astustin of Pavia who had accompanied me from Cafâ, as he had some knowledge of the language. They both suffered much abuse and were told that we ought to be cut to pieces. After a few days there arrived a son of Ussuncassan named Massubei, accompanied by a thousand horsemen, to take the government of Tauris, on account of the fear caused by Zagarli, to whom I went, and with

difficulty obtained an audience. I was obliged to give him a piece of camlet, and when I had selutod him, I said that I wes going to the Shah, his fethcr, end begged him to let me heve a good escort. He scarcely answered me and appeared not to care; so I returned to my lodging. Things then hegan to get worse; for, when Messuhei wanted to obtain money from the people in order to raise en ermy, they refused to give him eny, and closed all the shops. I was, therefore, obliged to leave the ceravanserai and go to an Armenian church, where I obtained a small space for lodging for ourselves and our horses, end I could not let any of my people go out. One may imagine our state of mind, in constant dread of ill-usage; hut our Lord God, who had taken compassion on us hitherto, in so many perils, was egain pleased to savo us.

On the 5th of Septemher, 1474, while still in Tauris, there arrived, on e mission from our Illustrius Signory to the Shah Ussuncassan, Bartholomeo Liompardo, who had visited me in Cafà, eccompanied hy his nephcw Brancalion. Having come by way of Trahisonde he arrivcd a month after me. I now resolved to send the above-mentioned Agustino, by way of Aleppo, to Venice with my letters, to inform the Illustrions Signory of everything that had taken plece, and he arrived at his destination in safety, after many perils. I staid in Tauris until the 22nd of Septembcr. I cannot say much about Tauris, as I remeined continually in concealment. It is a largo city, and much emher is met with in it. I do not think it is very populous. It ahounds in all kinds of provisions, but everything is dear. It contains many hazears. A great quantity of silk passes throngh in caravans, bound for Aloppo, end there are many light articles of silk from the manufactures of Jesdi, and a great deal of fustian and merchandise of almost every kind. Of jewels I heard no mention. As my good fortune would have it, the Cadi Lascher,—one of the most important per-

sonages abont Ussuncassan, who had been on an embassy to tho Soldan for the purpose of concluding n peace, without, however, succeeding,—came to Tauris on his way back to his sovereign. As soon as I know this, I songht an interview with him, made him a present, and begged that he would allow me to travel in his company, as I was going to the Shah on important business. He granted my request in the most gracious and conrteons manuer, saying that ho gladly accepted my company and trusted in God to conduct me in safety to his sovereign. It apppeared to me to he a proof of the grace of God ; for which I tendered many thanks. The Cadi had two renegade Slavonian slaves with him, who formed a close friendship with my servants, and made them offers of assistance. They promised me also that when their master was going to leave they world let me know, which they did, and I made them a present, which was profitable to mo.

On the 22nd, as I havo said, we left Tauris with the Cadi Lascher. A caravan consisting of a number of Azami, going our way, kept in our company for protection. As we travelled we found the country generally level, with tho exception of a few hills, bnt very arid, as therow was not a tree of any kind, except near some rivers. We passed, however, a few villages of no importance. Before midday we rested in the open air, and did the same at night. We procnred provisious as we required them at the villages as we went along. Travelling in this way, we arrived, on the 28th, at Soltania, which, from its appearance, I shold judge to he n good town. It has a large walled castle, which I wished to see. It contains a mosque, which has the appearance of heing very ancient. It had three hronze gates higher than those of St. Mark in Venice, worked with knobs, made in damask work with silver, which are certainly most heatutifnl, and must, I should think, havo cost a large sum of money. I saw nothing else worthy of note. This city is situated in

a plain, but in the vicinity of some mountains of moderate height. The cold here in winter is said to be so severe that the people are obliged to remove to another place. There is a bazaar for the sale of provisions, and fustians of a common description. We remained here till the 30th, on the morning of which day we left, and travelled again over plains and hills, sleeping every night in the open air. The country forms part of Persia, which begins at Tanris.

On the 4th of October, 1474, we arrived at a city called Sena, without walls, but with a bazaar as usual. It is situated in a plain near a river, and surrounded by trees. Here we slept in a very incommodeous caravanserai.

On the 5th, we left here; and on the 6th, while bivouacking in the open air, I was attacked by fever. On the morning of the 8th we rode on, I being greatly fatigued, and arrived in good time at a city called Como.¹ Here, when we had entered a caravanserai in a sort of inn, the fever increased and began to trouble me exceedingly, and the next day all my people were taken ill, except Pré Stephano, who attended to us all. Our illness, from what I was told, was of a kind that is accompanied by delirium, and we said many insane things. Cadi Lascher sent to me to make excuses for not staying longer, saying that he was obliged to hasten to his sovereign, but that he would leave me a servant, and comforted me with the assurance that I was in a country where I should not be molested. My illness kept me in this place till the 23rd. Como is a small but handsome town situated in a plain, and surrounded by a mud wall. It has an abundance of everything, with good bazaars for its manufactures and fustians.

On the 23rd, as I have said, we left here, and I travelled with much suffering on account of my illness.

On the 25th, we arrived at another city called Cassan,²

¹ Koum.

² Kashan.

having walls and bazaars like those of Como, but it is a finer city.

On the 26th, we left here and entered another small city called Nethos,¹ situated in a plain, where more wine is made than anywhere else. Here, on account of my debility and a slight return of fever, I remained a day. On the 28th I mounted my horse as well as I could, and after travelling again over plains, arrived on the 30th at a city called Spaan. Here we found the Shah Ussuncassan, and having ascertained where Messer Josafa Barbaro, our ambassador, was residing, I dismounted at his lodgings. As soon as we saw each other, we embraced each other affectionately, and with great joy. One may imagine the consolation which this meeting afforded me; but as I was more in want of repose than anything else, I retired to rest. On the following day I had a conference with his Excellency, in which I stated what I had to say. The Shah having heard of my arrival sent his slavee to receive me with presents of provisions.

On the 4th of November, 1474, we were summoned to the presence of the Shah by some of his slaves. Having entered the audience chamber in company with the Magnificent Messer Josafa Barbaro, we found His Majesty and eight of his barons, who appeared to be men of authority. After the required salutations, performed according to the Persian custom, I stated the object of my embassy from the Illustrious Signory, and delivered my letter of credence. When I had concluded, the Shah replied briefly, and, as it were, excusing himself for having been obliged to come to these parts; after which, he made me sit with his barons, and an abundant supply of refreshments were brought, well prepared, according to their methods, of which we partook, seated on carpets in the Persian fashion. When we had eaten we saluted His Majesty and returned to our lodgings.

¹ Nathunz.

On the 6th, we were summoned by the Shah, and a groat part of the resideace where he was staying, which was in the middle of a field, through which a river flowcd, in a very delightful locality, was shown to me. One part was formed like a quadrangle and was adorned hy a painting, representing the decapitation of Soltan Basech, and showing how he was hroaght hy a rope to execution hy Cullumameth, who had caused the chamber to be msdo. We were eerved with a luncheon of good coafections, after which we returned to our lodgings. We remained in this city of Spaan with His Majesty until the 25th of this month, during which time we were invited hy His Majesty to frequent hanqaets. Spaan appears to he a very coaventient city. It is sitaated in a plaiia ahoanding with all kinds of provisions. It is said that, as the city refusod to surreader, much of it was destroyed after it had been taken. It is surrounded hy a wall of earth like the others. From Taaris to Spaan is a twenty-foar days' journey, through a country entirely belonging to Persia, consisting of a very arid plain with salt water in many places. The corn and fruits which, however, grow in abundance, are produced by means of irrigation. There are fruits of all kinds, and of botter quality than I have seen or tasted anywhsre. To the right and left of Spaan there are mountains, said to ho very frtile, from which are brought the greater portion of the provisions. All things are dear. Wine costs from three to four ducats for a qaantity eqnal to our quart. Bread is at a reasonable price. A camel-load of wood costs a ducat. Meat is dearer than with us. Fowls are sold seven for a ducat. The pricces of other thiags are in proportion. The Persians are well hchaved and of gsatle manners, and by their conduct appear to like the Christiaas. While in Persia we did not suffer a eingle outrage. Ths Persian women are dressed in a very becoming manncr and sarpass the men, both in their dress aad ia their riding. Both women and men are handsome aad well-made, and follow the Mahometan religion.

CHAPTER IV.

His Excellency the Ambassador leaves Spaan and returns in company with Ussuncassan to Taaria, where he meets the Ambassadors of the Duke of Burgundy and the Duke of Muscovy, and, after many audiences, takes leave of Ussuncassan.

On the 25th of November, as above mentioned, His Majesty left Spaan with his court, and all returned, with their families, to winter at Como. I accompanied His Majesty, and we travelled as nearly as possible through the same places by which we had come, lodging under tents, and wherever we settled, bazaars were established by those who are deputed to follow the camp with provisions and corn of every description.

On the 14th of December, 1474, we entered Como with His Majesty, where, with difficulty, I obtained a small house for our lodging, after staying two days under tents. We remained at Como with the king, who often summoned us to his presence, until the 21st of March, during which time we suffered considerably from the extreme cold. When we ate with His Majesty, he made us enter his apartment in the pavilion, but sometimes we remained outside, and departed without ceremony. When we dined with him, he took great pleasure in asking us about places in our country, and put some strange questions. His demeanour is certainly good; and he is constantly surrounded by men of rank. At least four hundred people sat daily at his entertainments, and sometimes many more, all seated on the ground. The food is brought to them in vessels of copper, and consists sometimes of rice; sometimes of corn, with a little meat; and it is a pleasure to see with what avidity it is eaten. The Shah and those who ate in his company, were served in an honourable manner, the dishes being abundant and well prepared. His Majesty always drinks wine at his meals; he appears to be a good liver, and took

pleasure in inviting us to portake of tha dishes which wero before him. There wera constantly present a number of players ond singers, to whom ha commandod whatever he wished to be played or eung, and His Majesty appeared to be of a very merry disposition. Ho was tall and thin, and had a slightly Tartar expression of countenonce, with a constant colour ou his face. His hand tremhled as he drank. Ho apppeared to be seventy years of age. He was fond of amusing himself in a homely mauner; but, when too far gone, was sometimes dangerous. Take him altogether, howevor, ho was a pleasant gentleman. We romained in Como, as I hava said, till the 22nd of March. It would not be to the purpose for me to mention tho number of times I had spoken to the Shoh on the subject of my embassy; it may be understood by the result.

On the 21st of March, 1475, we left Como for Tauris with tho wholo *lordo*; that is, with all who followed tha Shoh, whoso whole family, with the boggage, went on camels and mules, of which there wero great nnmbers. Wa journcyed from ten to twelve miles a day, ond sometimes, but rarely, twenty, when in search of good pasturage. It is the pratico of the Shah to sand his povilion on to the place where he wishes to settle, and where there is good pasturage and water, and to which place the wholo lordo sets out on the following night, ond remain there till the grass is consumed, whcn they proceed to another place in a similar manner. The women are always the first on the ground to creet the tents and make preparations for their husbands. The Persians dress well; they are good horsomen, and ride the best horses they have. They ore a very powpons notion, and their camels are so well caporisoned that it is a pleasuro to look at them. Few ore so poor as not to possess at least seven camels. So that, from a distanco, one would suppose therer were a great number of people, which is not actually the case. When the Shah arrivod at Tauris ha might have

had in his company about two thousand men on foot. There never appeared to Messer Josefa Barbaro and myself more than five hundred horsemen following the Shah, as the rest went as they pleased. The tents of the Shah were exceedingly beautiful: the one in which he slept was like a chamber; it was covered with red felt, with doors, which would serve for any room. As we journeyed along, bazaars were established in the lordo, at which everything was to be had, but at a high price. We, with our tents, that is one for each, followed His Majesty and were frequently invited to partake of his hospitality. He also often made us presents of eatables, and certainly showed us great kindness, nor did we ever receive injury from any of his followers or from any one else.

On the 30th of May, 1475, at about fifteen miles from Tauris, there came to His Majesty a certain Friar Lodovico da Bologna, accompanied by six horsemen, who called himself the Patriarch of Antioch, and said that he was sent as ambassador from the Duke of Burgundy. The Shah immediately sent to ask us whether we knew him, on which we gave a favourable report of him to His Majesty.

On the 31st, the Shah sent for him in the morning, and also for us to be present at the audience. The Patriarch had brought with him three dresses of cloth of gold, three of crimson velvet, and three of violet cloth, which he presented to the Shah. The Shah made us enter his tent, and, having requested the ambassador to state his mission, the latter said that he had been sent by the Duke of Burgundy, in whose name he made great offers. He made a long speech, which seemed to have little effect upon the Shah, and which it is unnecessary here to repeat. We dined with His Majesty, who put many questions to the ambassador, which he answered; after which, we returned to our tents.

On the 2nd of June, 1475, we entered Tauris, and were provided with a lodging, and on the 8th we and the said

Patriarch were sent for. And, although the Shah had told me four times previously that I should return to the Frank country, and that the Magnificent Messor Josafà Barbaro shold remain with him, I constantly objected to this, nor did I think that any more would be said on that subject. When we appeared before His Majesty, he said to the Patriarch: "Thou shalt return to thy lord and inform him that I intend to abide by my promise of making war ou the Ottoman, which I am on the point of doing": with other words on the same subjoct. Then, turning to me, he said: "Thou also shalt go with this Casis to thy lord, and say that I am on the point of going to war with the Ottoman, and that they, too, wish to do the same. I cannot send a better or more efficient messenger than thou. Thou hast been to Spaan and returned with me, and hast seen every-thing, and mayest report to thy lord and to all the lords of Christendom." When I heard this I was very much dis-ploasod, and replied that I could not do anything of the kind, for the reasons I assigned. He then said, with an angry look: "I wish and command thee to go, and of this my com-mand I will write to your lord." I then requested the Pa-triarch and Messer Josafà to give me their opinion; who both said that I could not do otherwiso than obey. In deference, then, to their opiuion and the wish of the Shah, I replied: "Sire, since such is your pleasure, I will, although loath, do what you command; and wherever I may be, I will speak of your Majesty's great power and good will, for tho satisfaction of all Christian princeos, who, on thoir part, may wish to follow your Majesty's example. My answer appeared to please him, and he vouchsafed me a few gracious words in reply. When we left we were taken to another place, and tho Patriarch and I received as a present from tho Shah two very light robes made after the Persian fashion. We went again to the Shah, and, after saluting him, returned to our room, where he sent us each, as presents, a small sum

of money, a horse, and a few trifles of small importance. He left Tauris this day, while we remained until the 10th, when we started together to go to His Majesty, who was encamped at the distance of about twenty-five of our miles from Tanris, at a place where there was water and good pasturage.

On the 10th, then, we started from Tauris and went to His Majesty's encampment, and having pitched our tents in the accustomed place, remained many days until the grass was conenined. We then left, and proceeded about fifteen of our miles, to a place where we stayed till the 27th, when he took leave of us. During the last period we were with the Shah we were occasionally summoned to his preeouce, thongh not for any matter of importance, and sometimee we receivcd presents of eatahles.

On the 26th, we were summoned by His Majesty, and, before wo entered the presence, were shown some very light articles of silk, lately made. Wo were also showu three presents, one of which was intended for the Duke of Burgundy, to be sent hy the Patriarch, another for our Signory, and the third to be taken hy a certain Marco Rosso, who had come as ambassador from the Duke of Muscovy, the Lord of Rossia Bianca. They consisted of Gesdi manufactures, two swords and *tulumbanti*, all things of a very light description. We were then eummoned to His Majesty's presence, where there wore two of his Turks, whom he intended sending as ambassadors, one to the Duke of Burgundy and the other to the Duke of Muecovy. Whon the Patriarch and I made our salutations, ho addressed us in these words: " You will go to your eovereigns and to the Christian princes, and tell them how I was on the point of setting out against the Ottoman, hnt that, having heard that he was in Constantinoplo, where he intends to remain the whole of this year, I did not deem it becoming to go in porson against his people; I have, therefore, sent some of

my forces against my disobedient son and somo to annoy tho Ottoman, and I have come to this place to bo in readinoss myself at a future time to nttack the Ottomaa. And this yon will tell your sovereign lords and to the Christian princes." He commanded his own ambassador to say the same. This Inngungo, and that which he had previously held, was very displeasing to mo; but we could only reply that we wold fulfil his commands. With this he dismissed as, and, as we were aboit to dopart, we were made to stay till the morning. In the meantime, he caused all his foot-soldiers to assmble by the mountain side, and in the morning we were sent to a tent in a commanding sitaation, where there was one of the *Ruischasan*, who had the charge of the umbassadors, and who, after conversing with us about varioas things, said: "Here come a great many foot-soldiers; it will afford yoa *tanfaruzzo* (that is, amusement), to see them." His slaves added, that those who came were in great nam-bors, but that grent numbers also remained bchind. Tho soldiers marched past the side of the mountain that we might the better see them. When thoy had passed, it was said that they might have amounted to ten thousand. Wish-ing to hear everything, we were assured that they were the same foot-soldiers who had come with the Shah, and that the review had been got up in order that we might report it. When the rcview was over the Shah gave ns the letters, and we returned to our tents. Inquiring of various persons, and, among others, of Messor Josafà Barbaro, to ascertain the number of horse-soldiers thore may have been with His Majesty, I heard that therero wero upwards of twenty thou-sand, or, takig tho good and bad together, upwards of twenty-five thousand. Thoir arms are bows and swords, and shields worked with silk or throad. They havo no lances. Most men of rank wear vcry beautiful helmets and cairasscs, and they have good and handsome horsos. I have nothiag more to say concerniag the Persians, I hnve spoken

sufficiently of their country, and of their manners, and of everything else. I might have been more diffuse, but at the risk of being tedious.

CHAPTER V.

The Illustrious Ambassador leaves Tauris, and, after being attacked several times while travelling through Georgiana and Mengrelia, at last arrives at Fasso.

On the 28th, I dinod with Messor Jesafa Barbaro in his tent, and we heth felt the hardship of separation, and a hardship it certainly was. We embraced each other, and parted with many tears. I mounted my herse in company with the Patriarch, the Turkish ambassadors, and Marco Rosso, and wo started, as I think, in an ovl hour, considering the misfortunes and great porils which I underwent. Travolling through the country of Ussuncassan, on our way to Fasso, we arrivod at the nine Catholic Armenian villages, of which we havo already spoken, where we lodged in the heuse of the Bisep, whe received us kindly, and where wo hoard a Cathelic Mass. Wo remained there three days to furnish ourselves with provisiens, after which we started, and travelled evor plains and an occasional mountain, until we entered the country of the King of Giergiania.

On the 12th of Jnly, 1475, having passed a rivor named Tigris, we arrived at a city bolonging to this king called Tiphis, situated on a little hill with its castle, which is very strong, on the hill higher up. This city has the reputation of having been very large, but much of it has been dostryed. What little remaius contains a numerous popula-tion, among which are many Catholics. Here, also, we met with an Armenian Cathelic, with whom we ledged.

On the 15th, while ridiag through Georgiania, for the mest part over mountains, we passed a few villages and occasionally saw a castle on the summit of a mountain.

On the 18th, when near the confines of Mengrelia, we met King Pangrati in the midst of a wood surrounded by mountains, and we all went to pay him a visit. He wished us to eat with him, and we sat down on the ground with skins for a table-cloth, according to their fashion. Our repast consisted of roast meat with a little poultry, badly cooked, and a few other things; but there was wine in abundance, as they consider that to treat their guests with wine is the greatest honour they can show them. When the eating was over, they began the debauch with certain gherlets half a braccio long, and those who drank most were the most esteemed. As the Turks do not drink wine, we rose from the contest and finally took our leave, for which reason we were looked upon with much contempt. The king was tall, and about forty years of age; he had a brown complexion, and a Tartar expression of countenance, but was nevertheless a handsome man.

On the morning of the 20th we left here, and, travelling through Georgania almost continually over a mountainous country, came to the confines of Mengrelia, where, on the 22nd, we met the captain of certain men, on foot and on horseback, belonging to the king, who, on account of some troubles which there were in Mengrelia, occasioned by the death of King Bendian, compelled us, with many menaces, to stop. They then took from us two quivers with the bows and arrows, and we gave them some money. Boiag then allowed to go, we left the road as fast as we could, and entered a wood, where we remained that night in great fear of being attacked.

On the morning of the 23rd, while going through a narrow pass on our way to Cotatis, we were attacked by some people of a village who stopped us, threatening to take our lives. After a great deal of parleying they took three horses belonging to the Turkish ambassadors, the bearers of the present, and it was only with much trouble and by paying

aboat tweaty ducats of their money, and giving up somo horses and bows, that wo were allowed to pass on. Wo then proceeded to Cotatis, a castle belonging to the king.

On the morning of the 24th, bcing obliged to cross a river by a bridge, wo were attacked and compelled to pay a grosso for each horse, which certainly caused us much vexation. After leaviag here wo eated Mingrelia, sleeping contiuually in the forests.

On the 25th, we crossed a river by means of boats, and entered a village belonging to a woman named Moresca, the sister of Bendian, who pretended to give ns a good reception, and presented us with bread and wine, and placed us in one of her closed meadows.

On the morning of the 26th, we detormiaed to mako her a preseat to the value of about twenty ducats. She thanked us, and would not accept it, hut began to complain, saying that she waated two ducats for each horso; and, although we pleaded our poverty as aa excuse, it was, as in former cases, of no avail, and we wero obliged to give her the two ducats per horse; after which, she not only wauted the present wo had offered her, but gratuities besides, and it was not without difficulty that we succeeded in leaving. Certainly, from the way she went on, I thought wo shold have been malcted of everythiag.

On the 27th, some of us in boats aad some on horseback, arrived at Fasso much fatigued. We lodged at the hoase of the before-mentioned Marta, aad, as a consolation for the bardships we had eadured, we heard that Capba, through which we had intended to pass, had been taken by tho Turks. What disappointment this news affordcd us may be imagined. Wo knew not what courso to adopt, and felt as lost. Ludovico da Bologna, the Patriarch of Antioch abovo-mentioned, however, decided upon going hy way of Circassia and Tartary to Russia, as he appeared to have somo kawledge of tho way. He himself had several times pro-

posed that we should not ahandon each othor, and of this I reminded him, and begged that we might perform tho journey in company. Ho replied, however, that it was time for everyone to take care of his own safety. This appeared to me a strange and iniqnitous reply, and I again hegged him not to he so cruel, hnt it was of no avail. He insisted on going with his company and attendants and the ambassador given to him hy Ussuncassan. When I saw this I tried to eome to an arrangement with Marco Rosso and the Turkish amhassador who was with him, and take measures to return. They seemed to agree to this, and, as a sign of good faith, we kissed each other's lips, and I counted on their promise. Having consulted together, however, they resolved to go through the territories of Gorgora, Lord of Calcican, and the lands of Vati which border on places belonging to the Ottoman, and pay him tribute. When I hsard this, rathor than take the same direction, I considrsed it preferable to remain at Fasso at the mercy of God.

On the 6th of August, 1475, the Patriarch mounted his horse, and, after making me some excuse, started with his people. The next day Marco Rosso, the Turk, and somo Russians, who were with them, doparted: some in one of the hoats of the country, and some on horsehack, for Vati, with the intention of going by way of Samachi, and then passing throngh Tartary. I thus remained alone with my attendants—five of us in all—utterly abandoned, without monsy, without hope of safoty, neither knowing which way to go nor what course to adopt. What our feelings were I leavo any reasonable person to consider. I was attacked on this day of trouble with a severe and terrible fover, to cure which I could get nothing but water from the river and grnel and, occasionally, a little chicken. It was a severe illness, accompaniod by delirium, as, from what I was afterwards told, I said many strange things. A few days after-

wards three of my people fell sick, and Priost Stephano alone remained to attend to us all. My bed consisted of a miserable counterpano, lent to me by a certain Zuan di Vulcan, a Genoese, residing at that place, and served both for bed and bedding. The attendants had to put up with what few clothes they had. My illness lasted till the 10th of September, and brought me to such extremity that my attendants made sure that I should die. But my good fortune would have it, that Donna Marta applied to a little bag containing oil and certain herbs; after which, I got better. I really attribute my recovery, however, to the mercy of our Lord God, who did not wish me to die in those countries, and to Him be all gratitude. Having, then, remained united, we took counsel together as to what course we should adopt, and it was resolved, in deference to my opinion, to turn back to Samachi in order to pass through Tartary. Some wished me to go by way of Soria; but this I would not do on any account, and I remained a short time at Fasso to restore my health.

On the 10th of September, 1475, we mounted our horses, and, after going about two of our miles, I could not ride any farther, on account of extreme weakness. I was, therefore, lifted from my horse and placed on the ground, and when I had taken a little rest we returned to Donna Marta, with whom we remained till the 17th. When our strength was to a certain degree restored, we mounted again, and, in the name of our Lord God, proceeded on the voyage we had resolved upon. At Fasso there happened to be a Greek acquainted with the language of Mengrelia, whom I took as a guide, and who committed a thousand rascally tricks, which it would excite pity to relate.

CHAPTER VI.

The Illustrious Ambassador leaves Fasso, returns through Mengrelia and Giorgiania, enters Media, crosses the Bachu or Caspian Sea, and reaches Tartary.

On the 17th, we monnted our horses, as I have mentioned, and retrrnred throngh Mengrelia with some diffiiculty. On the 21st we were in Cotatis, and, as our guide gave me mnch trouhlo, I was ohliged to dismiss him. We remained at Cotatis till the 24th, partly because I did not feel well, and partly to wait for some people to accompany us. At length we started in company with some people whom we neither knew nor understood, and travelled over certain mountains, not without fear, until tho 30th, when we reached Tiflis. Hero I dismounted, more dead than alive, at the church of an Armenian Catholio, by whom wo and many others were certainly well receivod. This priest had a son, who, to our misfortnno, fell sick of the plague, which had been very prevalent at this place during tho year. As my people went in his company, he gavo it to Mapheo da Bergamo, the servant, who attonded mo, and who kept near me for two days while ill with it. Having at length thrown himself down on his hed, and his disease being discovered, I was advised to move to other qnarters. A place where cows were kept at night having been cleaned as well as it was possible, and furnished with a little hay, I was made to rest in it on account of my great weakness. The priest would not allow Mapheo to remain in his house any longer, and, as there was nowhere else, it was necessary to put him in a corner of the place where I was. He was waited upon by Priest Stephano, but it pleased our Lord God to take him. I then obtained, after many prayers, another cowshed, where I was accommodated in a similar manner. Wo were abandoned by everyone except an old man, who under-

stood a little Turkish, and continued to serve us. But how we fared may be easily judged. We remained at Tiflis until the 21st of October; on the day preceding which, as my good fortune would have it, there arrived the Turkish ambassador, who had accompanied brother Ludovico, the Patriarch of Antioch. From him I learnt that when they had proceeded as far as Avogasia they had been robbed of everything, and that the robbery was to be attributed to the Patriarch himself. He had, therefore, left him to return to his own country, and said that this would cause great dissatisfaction to Ussuncassan. I condolod with him as well as I could, and we left together on the 21st of October. Tiflis belongs to Pangrati, King of Giorgiania. After travelling two days we entered the territory of Ussuncassan, as it was on our way to Samachi, and passed tbreugh a fine country.

On the 26tb of October, 1475, we came to a place where we were obliged to separate, as it was necessary that I should travel through the country of Sivanza, in order to reach the town of Samachi, and that the ambassador shoud go towards his own country. By means of this ambassador I obtained a Turkish priest as a guide as far as Samachi. Having taken leave, we started with the guide and entered Media, which is a mnch more boautiful and fertile contry than that of Ussuncassan, and consists mostly of plains. Here we fared very well.

On the 1st of November, 1475, we arrived at Samachi, a town belonging to Sivanza, the Lord of Media, where silks called Talamana and others of a light texture are mado, as well as satins. This city is not so large as Tauris; but is, in my opinion, a better city in every respect, and abounds in all kinds of provisions. While here we met Marco Rosso, the amhassador of the Duke of Muscovy, with whom we had travelled to Fasso. He had gone by way of Gorgora, and had arrived here aftor a vry troublesome journey. He had

the courtesy to pay me a visit at the caravanserai where I was staying; and when we had embraced each other cordially, I begged him to admit me into his company, which he did in the most kind and courteous manner.

On the 6th, we left here with Marco for Dorbont, a city belonging to the said Simanza, on the confines of the Tartar country. After travelling partly over mountains and partly over plains, and lodging occasionally in Turkish villages, where we were hospitably received, we reached, midway, an agreeable little town where an incredible number of fruit trees, especially apple trees, are grown, of excellent quality.

On the 12th, we arrived at Derbent. As, in order to reach Russia, it was necessary to cross the plains of Tartary, we were advised to winter here and cross over the Sea of Bachu, to Citracan¹, in April. The city of Derbent is situated on the Sea of Bachu or Caspian Sea, and is said to have been founded by Alexander the Great. It is called the Iron Gate, as it is only possible to enter Media and Persia through this city, on account of its being situated in a deep valley, which extends into Circassia. It is surrounded by five broad and well made walls; but of that portion of the city beneath the mountain, on the way to the castle, not a sixth part is inhabited, and the portion bordering on the sea is all destroyed. It has a great number of sepulchres. It abounds in all kinds of provisions, much wine is produced, and fruit of every description is grown in abundance. The Caspian Sea is very large, as it is without outlet. It is said to be equal in circumference to the Mar Maggiore, and is also very deep. Sturgeon and morone are caught in it in very great numbers, but they do not know how to catch other fish. There are a great many dog-fish, with heads, feet, and tails, really resembling those of dogs. Another kind of fish is also caught, about a braccio and a half in length, almost round, without any visible head or anything. From this fish a certain liquor, used all over the country,

¹ Astrakhan.

is extracted, which is burned in lamps, and employed to aneint camels with. We remained at Derbont from the 12th of November until the 6th of April, when we embarked, during which time we certainly fared well. The natives are a fine race, and we never experienced the slightest injnry. We were asked whe we were, and when we said we wore Christians, they required nothing mere. I wore a jacket all tern, lined with lambskin; above this, a very serru polisso, and, on my head, a lambskin cap. Thus attired I went about the city and the bazaar, and often carried home meat. Yet I heard people say, "This does not look like a man used to carry meat." And Marco blamed me also, saying that I looked as though I were in a Sanctnary (Franchisa).¹ I answered that I was nnahle te dress otherwise, and I was certainly surprised that, being so ragged, they should have had such an opinion of me. As I havo said, however, we fared well. While in this place, as I was desiroas of hearing how the affairs of Ussuacassan and the Magnificent M. Jesapha Barbaro were geiag en, I determined to send Dimitri, my interprcter, to Tauris, a journey of twenty days. He went, and returned fifty days afterwards, briaging mo letters from Josapha, who wrote that the lerd was there, hut that nothing could bo ascertnaiacd concerning him. An arrangement was then made by Marco with the master of a vessel to carry us to Citracan. The vessels here are kept on shore during the wiater, when they cannot be nsed. They are called fishos, which they are made to resemble in shape, heing sharp at the head and stern and wide amidships. They are built of timbers canlked with rags, and are very dangeroas craft. No compass is used, as they keep continually in sight of land. They uso ears, and, although everything is done in a mest harbarous manner, they look upon themselves as the euly mariners worthy of the name. To sum up, these people are all Mahometans.

¹ That is to say, an Alsatia.

April 6th, 1476. We had been obliged to stay with our baggage on board the vessel, which was drawn up on shore waiting for favourable weather, for about eight days. During this time, as Marco remained in the city, we were not without fear, as we were alone. It having pleased our Lord God, however, to send us at length a favourable breeze, we all assembled on the shore, and, the vessel being set afloat, we immediately embarked and made sail. We were in all thirty-five persons, including the captain and six mariners; there were on board some merchants taking rice, silk, and fustians to Citracan for the Russian market, and some Tartars going to procure furs for sale in Derbent. We started, then, on the above-mentioned day with a favorable wind, and kept constantly at the distance of about fifteen milos from a mountainous coast. After three days' sail we passed these mountains and came to a beachy shore, when, the wind becoming contrary, we dropped one of our anchors: this was at about four hours before evening. The wind having increased, however, and the sea got rough in the night, we looked upon ourselves as lost, so we resolved to weigh our anchor and take our chance in running ashore. When the anchor was raised we crossed the sea, and the waves, which were running high on account of the wind, threw us aground. It pleased our Lord God, however, to save us by means of these big waves, which carried us over the rocks, and we were driven into a little creek, as long as the vessel itself, and it really seemed as if we had entered a port, as the sea broke so many times before it reached us, that it could do us no damage. We were all obliged to jump into the water, and carry our things ashore well soaked. The vessel leaked also, from having gouts on the rocks, and we ourselves were very cold, both from the wet and the wind. In the morning, after holding council, it was determined that no fire should be lighted, as we were in a most dangerous place on account of its being frequented by

Tartars, tho foot-murks of whose horses were visible on the beach. As there was a boat, which appeared to have been lately broken, we thought that the horsemen, whose traces we had seen, had been there to capture the crew, either dead or alive; we were, therefore, in great fear and in continual expectation of attack. We became reassured, however, when we perceived beyond the beach a number of marshes, which proved that the Tartars could not be very near the shore. We remained at this place until the 13th, when the weather became favourable for continuing our voyage. The things belonging to the mariners were then put on board, and when the vessel had been taken off the rocks the other baggage was taken in, and we set sail. This was on Holy Saturday. After sailing about thirty miles, a contrary wind again sprang up; but, as there were some small cane islands on our lee, we were compelled to make for them, and we ran into a place where there was very little water. The wind having increased, and the vessel touching ground occasionally on account of the swell, the captain made us all leave the vessel and land on a small cane island, to reach which I was obliged to put my bags on my shoulder and wade ashore with bare legs as well as I could; but I was very cold and in considerable danger on account of the surf which washed over me. On reaching land I found shelter under the canes, which I entered with my people, and we endeavoured to dry ourselves as well as we could. The seamen, with great trouble, then took the vessel to a place sheltered from the wind, where it was out of danger. From what I was given to understand, the Tartars were in the habit of coming to this island in the summer to fish.

On the morning of the 14th, which was Easter Sunday, while on this cane island and suffering from cold, with nothing wherewith to celebrate the day but a little butter, one of Marco's attendants, as he was walking along the rock, found nine duck's eggs, which he gave to his master, who

had them made into an omelet with butter, and presented us each with a piece. With this we kept the day in a proper manner, and returned thanks to God. As those about us were often curious to know who I was, it was agreed between Marco and myself that I should pass for a doctor. They were told, therefore, that I was the son of a physician in the service of Despina, the daughter of the despot Thomas, who had come from Rome to marry the Duke of Muscovy, and that, being poor and in her service, I was going to the Duke and to Despina to seek my fortune. One of our sailors, who was suffering from an abscess, having asked my advice soon afterwards, I applied a plaster composed of a little oil, bread, and flour, which I found on board, and in three days, by good fortune, the abscess broke, and he was cured. For this I was looked upon as a perfect doctor, and requested to stay with them. Marco, however, made an excuse for me, saying that it could not be then, but that, after I had been in Russia a short time, I should return.

CHAPTER VII.

The Illustrious Ambassador crosses the Caspian Sea and arrives at Citracan, a Tartar city. After having been much alarmed by the Tartars on several occasions, he departs, at length, with the caravan, for Muscovy.

On the 15th, the wind springing up in the morning, we made sail, and, after coasting those cane islands nearly the whole time, entered the mouth of the Volga on the 26th. The Volga is a very large river and deep in many places; it flows from Russia and discharges itself into the Sea of Bachu, it is said, by soventy-two mouths. From its mouth to Citracan the distance is seventy-five miles. On account of the strong current which we ascended, sometimes by towing and sometimes by means of the wind, we did not

reach Citracan until the 30th. Between Citracan and tho coast theroy is a very large salt lake yielding salt of excellont quality, from which Russia is principally supplied, and which would suffice for a great part of the world. The Tartars, that is, the Lord of Citracan, would not allow us to cemo on shore that day. Marco, however, was permitted to land, as he had some friends in the town. On the first evening I also was admitted, with my people, into the little house where Marco lodged, and accommodated for the night. In the morning came three ill-favoured Tartars, who told Marco that he was welcome, as he was a friend of their lord ; but, that for me, I had become his slave, as the Franks were their enemies. I thought this a strange reception. But Marco answered for me, and would not allow mo to say a word, except to recommend myself to them. This was on the 1st of May, 1476. I returned to my little chambor in such dread, that I scarcely know whero I wns ; and my perils increased every day, not only in consequence of the Comerchicri, who gave out that I had a quantity of jewcls, but from having some trifling things which we had brought from Derbent and intended exchanging for borses ; but everything was taken from us. I was afterwards told hy Marco that they intended selliug them in the bazaar ; but that, by interceding with some merchants who were going to Mnscovy, he had, with much trouble and risk, and nfter a delay of several days, arranged that I should pay the sum of two thousand alermi to the lord. This sum did not includo what was extorted by others. As I had not a soldo, the money was advanced on very usurions terms hy Russian and Tartar merchants who were going to Muscovy, on security given by Marco. Although our difficulty with the lord might bo said to have been overcome by this arrangement, the dog of a Courierchier used to come to our house, when Marco was not at home, and, after knocking down my door, would threaten, in his cursed voice, to have me impaled,

saying that I had jewels in quantities. I was, therefore, obliged to appease him as best I could. Many and many a time, also, Tartars, drunk with a beverage they make with apples, used to come and shout that they would have the Franks, who had lost the hearts of men. We were terrified into purchasing their silence also. We remained at Citracan from the first of May to the 10th of August, the Feast of St. Lawrence. Citracan belongs to three sons of a brother of the present Emperor of these Tartars who inhabit the plains of Circassia and the country lying in the direction of Tana. In the heat of the summer they go towards the confines of Russia in search of fresh pasture. These three brothers remain in Citracan a few months in the winter, but in the summer do like the rest. Citracan is a small town situated on the Velga, and surrounded by a low wall. The few houses it contains are built of bricks; but it is evident that it possessed several edifices at no very distant period. Citracan is said to have been, in ancient times, a place of considerable trade, the spices which came to Venice by way of Tana having passed through it; and, from what I could understand, they were sent direct from Citracan to Tana, a distance of only eight days' journey.

On the 10th of August, 1476, the Feast of St. Lawrence, as we have said, we left Citracan, as I shall hereafter relate. The Lord of Citracan, named Casimi Can, sends an ambassador to Russia every year to the Duke of Muscovy (more for the sake of obtaining presents than anything else), who is accompanied by a great many Tartar merchants who form a caravan and take with them silk manufactured in Gesdi and fustian stuffs to exchange for furs, saddles, swords, bridles, and other things which they require. And, as the country between Citracan and Muscovy is a continual desert, everyone is obliged to carry provisions. The Tartars, however, care little to do so, as they always drive a great number of horses with them, some of which they kill

every day for feed. They live, indeed, continually on meat and milk, without other food, no one being even acquainted with bread, unless it be some merchant who has visited Russia. We, however, were obliged to provide ourselves as well as we could. We took a little rice with which a mixture is made with milk dried in the sun, and called thnr, which becomes very hard, tastes rather sour, and is said to be very nourishing. We also had onions and garlic, besides which I obtained with much trouble a quart of biscuits made of very good wheaten flour, and a salted sheep's tail. Our way was between two tributaries of the Volga; but, as the said emperor was at war with Casimi Can, his nephew—who pretended that he was the true emperor, his father having been the Emperor of the *Lordo*, and in possession of the territory—it was unanimously resolved that the whole caravan should cross over to the other bank of the river and proceed as far as a narrow pass between the Tanais and the Volga, about five days' journey distant, as beyond that point it might be considered out of danger. Everyone, therefore, placed his goods and provisions on certain boats which are used in those parts, that they might be carried over the river. Marco also embarked his things and wished me to embark the few provisions I had with me. He advised me also to send on the Priest Stefane and Zuane Ungharetto, my attendant, and remain with him myself, as he had arranged with the ambassador, whose name was Anchioli, that he should come for me about midday; and that we should advance to where the boats had gone, which might be about twelve miles higher up the river. When the time came, he made me mount on horseback with the said ambassador and my interpreter; and with great fear, and riding as low as I could, we arrived at the pass, at about an hour before sunset. As I was about to cross the stream, as darkness was coming on, to join our people, Marco called to me in such a furious tone that I certainly

thought my last honr had come. He made me mount with my interpreter and a Rusaian woman, together with a Tartar, whose aspect wae as forbidding as could well be imagincd. All he said was, "Ride, ride fast". As I could not do otherwise, I obeyed, and followed the Tartar all that night and until midday the next day, nor would he allow me to dismount for a moment. Having asked him eeveral times, throngh my interpreter, where he was taking me to, he at length replied that Marco's reason fer sending me forward was, that the Khan was geing to have the boats searched, and he feared that, if I were discovered, I shoud be detained. This was on the 13th of August, about mid-day. Having come to the river, the Tartar tried to find a boat wherewith to cross over to a little island, where there wero some cattle belonging to the ambassador Anchioli. Not finding one, he collected some branches, which he honnd together as well as he could; and, after placing the saddles upon them, tied them with a rope to the tail of a horse, which he drove to the island, a distance, I should think, of two good bowshots. He then returned and took the Knssian woman, whom he passed over in the samo way. My interpreter preferred to swim over, which he did with some peril. He then came over for me, and, as I saw how great the danger was, I took off my shirt and hose, although, in any case, this would have availed me little; and by the help of our Lerd, although in great danger, I was carried over. The Tartar then returned again, and brought over the horses, which wo mounted, and proceeded to his lodgинг,—a skin covering,—which I got under. This was the third day that I had not eaten, and when he gave me a little sour milk I received it with the greatest thanks, and thought it very good. Shortly afterwards, there came a number of Tartars, who were on the island minding their cattle. They looked at me and appcared to wonder much, amongst themselves, as to how I had come there, as no Christian had ever

heen there before. I said nothing, but foignod to he as ill as posaible. Tho Tartar guide appeared to favour mo greatly, and no one, I believe, dared to speak, from respect to tho ambassador, who was a great man. On the 14th, which was the eve of Our Lady's day, a lamb was killed in my honour, which was partly roasted and partly hoiled, but no tronhlo whatever was taken to wash the flesh, as they say that washing takes all the flavour away; nor do they scum it with snything bnt a twig. Some of this meat and somo sonr milk was then served np; and, although it was the ovo of Our Lsdy (of whom I eraved forgiveness, as I could hold out no longer), wo all hegan esting together. Mare's milk was also brought, which they hold in great esteem, and of which they wished me to drink, as they say it gives great strength to man; hut, as it stauk most horrihly, I refused to taste it, which gave them some offence. I remained here until the 16th, whon Marco arrived with the caravan, and sent a Tartar and one of his Russians to fetch mo. I was then taken over the river in a hoot to the place where tho caravan was. Tho Priest Stephano and Znanno Ungarotto, who had despared of seeing mo aguin, rejoiced greatly when I appeared, and returned thanks to God. Marco had provided as many horses as I might require. We remained the whole of the day of the 17th, and then started with tho caravan to cross the desert on our way to Museovy. The amhassador took the command of the whole company, which, with Russisns and Tartars, might have amounted to about three hundred porsons. There wore, besides, more than two hundred horses led for food and for sale in Russia. We certainly marched in good order, keeping hy tho sido of the river, sleeping at night and resting at midday. We proceeded thns for fifteen days, during which time they no longer appeared apprehensivo of the Emperor of the Lordo, as they were before reaching the narrow pass. This Lordo is governed by an emperor, whose name I do not remeber,

who rules over all the Tartars in those parts. These Tartars, as I have said, are constantly wandering in search of fresh pasture and water, and live entirely on milk and meat. They have, I believe, the most beautiful oxen, cows, and sheep in the world, the meat being of good flavour on account of the excellency of the pastures. Mare's milk, however, is held in great estimation. Their country consists of beautiful and extensive plains, where not a mountain is to be seen. I did not visit this *Lordo* myself, but was desirous of obtaining what information I could respecting it and its numerical strength. It is the general opinion that, although it contains altogether a great many people, a thousand men armed with sword and bow could scarcely be mustered in it, all the rest being women and children in considerable numbers, or men shoeless and without arms of any kind. They are accounted valiant, as they plunder both Circassians and Russians. Their horses are no better than wild; they are timid, and it is not the custom to shoot them. These Tartars themselves are generally looked upon as brutes. As has been said, they dwell between the rivers Tanai and Volga. But there is said to be another tribe of Tartars living beyond the Volga, in an east-north-easterly direction, who are supposed to be very numerous. They wear long hair reaching to their waists, and are called wild Tartars. They wander in search of pasture and water like the others; and, in the winter, when there is much cold and ice, they are said to come as far as Citracan; nor do they commit any damage in the town, unless it be some paltry theft of meat. When we had travelled fifteen days continually by the river-side, we came to a little wood where the Tartars and the Russians began cutting timbers, which they bound together, with cords brought for the purpose, and made, I should think, upwards of forty rafts. While these were being prepared we found a miserable boat, on which Marco ordered his things to be carried across the

stream. He then sent it back for me, requesting me to bring over our saddles and what provisions we had, in order that I might guard his things on the side of the river, while Dimitri, the Turciman, and the Hungarian, remained behind to guard the horses. I embarked, then, on this boat, together with Stophano and two Russians, who guided the boat with poles of wood, and we crossed to the opposite bank of the river, which I should consider to be more than a mile across, although our course was considerably longer, both on account of the strong current which carried us down and the leaking of the boat. Stophano and I, however, sat in the water and haled it out as well as we could, and after great fatigue and extreme peril we at length, by God's help, reached the opposite bank in safety. When the boat was unloaded the Russians wanted to return in her, but this was impossible, as she was too much broken; they were, therefore, obliged to remain, and were six in all. The next morning the whole caravan was to have crossed, but was prevented by a high wind, which arose from the north and continued blowing for two days. As I had taken everything with me, my people who were guarding the horses were, during this time, without either food or clothing, so that my anxiety on their account may well be imagined. I now thought that I would look into the state of our provisions, which I was alarmed to find anything but satisfactory. I, therefore, though late, took charge of them myself, and resolved to cook only a dishful of rice for dinner and the same for supper, giving with each ration sometimes onions, and sometimes garlic, with a little dry sour milk, and occasionally some of the biscuits. We used all to sit round our dish of rice, each eating his proper allowance, nor did I take a greater share than the rest. During the two days we remained at this place, we found some wild apples, which we boiled and ate to economise our provisions. After the two days were passed the whole caravan with the baggage

crossed over the river by means of the rafts, each raft being towed by six or seven horses, with as many Tartars to guide them, the rafts being tied with ropes to the horses' tails. The remainder of the horses were made to swim across without their harness, that the whole caravan might pass over at the same time. It was certainly a goodly sight, and they crossed quickly, though the passage was full of peril. When all had crossed over and taken a little rest, the baggage was packed, and we set out, leaving the river, than which, in my judgment, there can be few greater, as it appears to be more than two miles across, very deep, and with high banks.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Illustrious Ambassador traverses the great desert of Asiatic Sarmatia and arrives at Moscow, a city of White Russia, where he presents himself to the Duke.

We started, as I have said, by God's grace, and travelled, as before, in a northerly direction, but turned very often towards the west. There was no indication of a road, but all was a desert plain. The Tartars said that we were more than fifteen days' journey north of Tana, which I thought we had passed. We continued travelling in the same manner, resting at midday and towards evening, our conch being the earth and our covering the air and sky. At night we always placed three guards: one on our right hand, one on our left, and a third in front, to secure us from attack. At times we could not find water either for ourselves or for our horses at our resting places, and throughout this journey we scarcely met with any game. We found, however, two camels and four hundred horses feeding, which were said to have belonged to the caravan of the preceding year. We were, on two occasions, in fear of

attack. One was a false alarm; on the other we found about twenty chariots with a few Tartars, who could not make us understand where they were going. As the journey was long and my stock of provisions small, we were obliged to limit ourselves.

On the 22nd September, 1476, it pleased God that we should enter Russia. There were a few little Russian villages in the middle of the woods, and when it was known that Marco was with the caravan, the people came forth,—with great timidity, however, on account of the Tartars,—and brought him a little honey in the combs. Of this he gave me a portion, and I was certainly in want of it, as all our provisions were exhausted, and we were reduced to such a state that we could scarcely mount our horses. We left here, and reached a city called Resan, belonging to a lord whose wife is sister to the Duke of Muscovy, the houses, as well as the castle of which, are all of wood. Here we obtained bread and meat in abundance, as well as their beverage of apples, by which we were much restored. After leaving here, we travelled through extensive forests, and at night we all lodged in Russian villages, and were able to take some repose, as by the aid of God we appeared to have reached a place of security. We then came to another city named Colonia, which is situated on a branch of the Volga, called Mosco, over which there is a large bridge. We left here, and I was sent in advance by Marco, as the caravan would not go so quickly.

On the 26th, praising and thanking God, who had taken pity on us in so many dangers and extremities, we entered Moscow, which belongs to Duke Zaanno, the sovereign of Great White Russia. I should state that, during the greater part of the time we occupied in passing the desert, which was from the 18th of August, when we left Citracan, until we reached Moscow on the 25th of September, as we had no wood, we cooked our food with the dung of the cattle.

Having reached here, then, in safety, Marco provided ledgings for myself and my people, and stables for the horses, which, althengh small and chearless, seemed to me a grand palace in comparison with what I had had to put up with.

On the 27th, Marco entered Moscow, and came in the eveaing to see me, hringing with him some provisions, whieh are very abundant in this city, as I shall describe hereafter. He exhorted me in the name of his sovereign to be of good eheor, as I might consider myself at home; for which I thaaked him as well as I was ablo.

On the 28th, I went to visit Mareo, and, as I was desirous of returaiug home, I requested him to ho pleased to procure me an audience of the Duke. This he did, as tha Duke shortly afterwards sent for me. After the usual salutations I thanked his lordship for the good offices I had experienced at the hands of Marco, his amhassador, as I could eertainly say, with trnath, that by his means I had escapcd many dangers. And, although I had benefited hy these services personally, they might be eosidered as having been rendered to my Illustrious Signory, whose amhassador I was. The Duke scarcely allowed me to finish my speech, hut, with a severe look, eomplained of Zuan Battista Trivisao. I will not ontor into this snhjeet, as it is beside the purpeso; but when, after a long conversatiou, I requested to bo allowed to take my departure, he said that I should receive an answer on that subjeet at another time; and with this I was dismissed by the Duke, who was ahent to leave the city. It is his custom to visit the varions parts of his dominions every year. He especially looks after a Tartar, in his pay, who commands, it is said, five hundred horsmen, to gnard the frontiers of his territory from the ineursioas of the Tartars.

Being desirous, as I have said, of leaviug, I oudeavoured to obtain an answer to my request, and was again sum-

moned to the palace, before three of the Duke's principal baroos. They informed me, in the Duke's name, that I was welcome, and repeated everything that the Duke himself had said, complaining at the same time about the above-mentioned Zuan Battista. In conclusion, they told me that I might go or stay, as I pleased; and with this they dismissed me.

As I was indebted to Marco for the amount of my ransom with the interest, as well as for some other expenses which he had incurred on my account, I begged him to have the goodness to allow me to leave, and that as soon as I had reached Venice I would send him all that I owed him. He would not, however, consent to this, as he said that the Tartars and Russaors whom I had promised to pay, wanted the money; and, as I was unable, after various attempts, to influence either the Duke or Marco in this matter, I determined to send Stephano to Venice to advise the Illustrious Signory of all that had occurred, that they might with their accustomed clemency and good nature provide against my endiog my days in this country.

On the 7th of October, 1476, I despatched Priest Stephaoo in company with a certain Nicolo da Lcologi, who was well acquainted with the road, while I remained in Moscow. I found here Maestro Trifoso, a goldsmith from Catharo, who had made, and was engaged in making, many heantifol vases and other articles for the Duke. There was also a Maestro Aristotele da Bologna, an engineer, who was building a church in the Piazza, besides many Greeks from Constantinople, who had come in the suite of Despina, with all of whom I was on terms of great friendship. The room which Marco had given me was small and unpleasant, and made an uncomfortable dwelliog-place; but, by the influence of Marco, I obtained a lodging in the house of Maestro Aristotle, which was situated close to the Duke's palaco, and was very convenient. A few days afterwards, however (for

what reason I never heard), I was ordered, in the Duke's name, to leave this house, and I was, with difficulty, provided with two little chambers outside the castle, where I remained until my departure, one of which I occupied myself, while the other served for my attendants.

The city of Moscow is situated on a little hill, and is built entirely of wood, as is the castle. It is traversed by a river called Moscow, on one side of which stands the castle and part of the city, and on the other the remaining portion. The river is crossed by numerous bridges. Moscow is the principal city, and the residence of the Duke. It is surrounded by forests, with which, indeed, the greater part of the country is covered. The country abounds in all kinds of corn; and when I was there, you might have bought more than ten of our *stare* of wheat for a ducat, and other corn in proportion. The meat principally eaten is that of cows and pigs, of which you can procure, I believe, more than three pounds for a seldo. They give a hundred fowls or forty ducks for a ducat, and geese are little more than three *soldi* each. A great number of hares are brought to market, but other game is very scarce, because, I imagine, they do not know how to catch them. There are small birds of all kinds, and very cheap. They do not make wine of any kind, nor have they any fruit, with the exception of a few water melons and wild apples. The climate is so excessively cold, that the people stay nine months of the year indoors. As it is difficult to travel in the summer time, on account of the thick forests and the great quantity of mud caused by the melting of the ice, they are obliged to get in all their provisions in the spring, for which purpose they use their *sani* or sledges on which they stow everything, and which are easily drawn by one horse. By the end of October the river which passes through the city is frozen over, and shops and bazaars for the sale of all sorts of things are erected on it, scarcely anything being sold in the town.

They do this, as the river, from being surrounded on all sides by the city, and so protected from the wind, is less cold than anywhere else. On this frozen river may be seen, daily, numbers of cows and pigs, great quantities of corn, wood, hay, and every other necessary, nor does the supply fail during the whole winter. At the end of November, all those who have cows or pigs, kill and bring them, from time to time, to the city market. They are frozen whole, and it is curious to see so many skinned cows standing upright on their feet. The meat that you eat has sometimes been killed three months or more. Fieh, fowle, and all other provisions are treated in the same way. Horses run on this river when it is frozen, and a good deal of amusement takes place. Sometimes, also, a neck is broken. Both the men and women are handsome, but they are a brutal race. They have a pope of their own, appointed by their sovereign, and hold ours in little esteem, saying that we are doomed to perdition. They boast of being great drunkards, and despise those who are not. They have no wine of any kind, but drink a beverage made of honey and the leaves of the hop, which is certainly not a bad drink, especially when old. The sovereign, however, will not grant permission to every one to make it; for, if they had that permission, they would be constantly intoxicated, and would murder each other like brutes. Their custom is to remain from morning till midday in the bazaars and to spend the remainder of the day in the taverns in eating and drinking. After midday you cannot obtain any service of them whatever. A great many merchants frequent this city from Germany and Poland during the winter, for the sole purpose of buying peltries, such as the furs of young goats, foxes, ermines, squirrels, wolves, and other animals; and, although these furs are procured at places many days' journey from Moscow,—towards the north-north-east, or the north-west,—they are all brought here where the merchants buy them.

A great many, also, go to a town called Novogardia, on the confines of Francia and Uppor Germany, and eight days' journey west of Moscow. This town, although it has a republican government, is suhject to tho Duke, to whom it pays a yearly trihnte. This prince, from what I have heard, possesses a large territory, and might raise a large army, hut the men are worthless. The country is houaded by that part of Germany which belongs to the King of Poland. Towards the north-north-west therò is said to he a certain nation of idolaters, without any sovereign, hnt who, when so inclined, pay obedienco to the Duke of Muscovy. Therò are some who are said to adore the first thing they see, and others who sacrifice an *animal* at the foot of a tree, and afterwards worship it. Many other things are told, which I shall not repeat, as I have not witnessed them myself, nor are they credible. The Duke may be thirty-five yeorns of age; he is tall and thin, and handsomo. He has two brothers, and his mother is still alive. Besides two daughters by Despina, who is said to be *enceinte*, he has, by another woman, a son who is not in great favour, on account of his had conduct. I might mention other things, hat it would take too long. I remained in Moscow from the 25th of Septemher until the 21st of Janmary, and I certainly received good treatment from everyone. After visiting his dominions, the Duke returned to Moscow about the end of Decemhor. I had sent Priest Stcphano for my ransom, and was certain that it would ho forthcoming, yet wishing very much to hasten my return homo, as the way of living of the country did not agree with me, I spoke to some gentlemen who were favonrahle to my desire of leaving ; and a few days afterwards received an invitation to dine with the Duke. He then told mo that he was willing that I should depart, and that he should be happy to serve our Illustrious Seignory, and pay whatever was due to the Tartars and Russians for my ransom. The hanquet to which I was invited was

certainly served in good style, not only with regard to the numerous dishes, but in every other respect. As soon as the dinner was over, according to the custom of the country, I returned to my apartments. A few days afterwards the Duke invited me to dine with him again, and he ordered his treasurer to give me what money I required to pay the Tatars and the Russians. I then went to his palace, where I was made to put on dresses of ermine (that is, the skin only), and received also a thousand squirrel skins, with which I returned home. I also, at the Duke's request, paid a visit to Despine, with whom, after the usual salutations and compliments, I had a long conversation. She treated me with great kindness and courtesy, and entreated me earnestly to recommend her to my Illustrious Signory.

CHAPTER IX.

The Illustrious Ambassador leaves Muscovy, and, after passing through Lithuania, Poland, and Germany, arrives in Italy.

The following day I was invited to the palace to dine with the Duke. Before sitting down to table, we entered a chamber where I was received by His Highness Marco, and one of the secretaries in a most courteous manner. The Duke entreated me to signify to my Illustrious Signory that he was their good friend, and wished to remain so; that he willingly allowed me to depart, and that if I required anything more I should have it. When the Duke spoke to me I retired from him, but he reproached me with great kindness. I answered all his questions, and thanked him appropriately, and we conversed for more than an hour. He showed me, with great good nature, some of his dresses of cloth of gold, lined with ermine, which were most beautiful. We then left this chamber, and soon after sat down to table.

The dinner was longer than usual; the dishes more numerous; and many of his harons were present. When the banquet was over, I rose from table and presented myself before his Highness, who, with a loud voice, that everyone might hear, took leave of me in courteous terms, and with great demonstration of good-will towards our Illnstriens Signory; and I replied in a becoming manner. I was, afterwards, presented with a large cup of silver filled with their beverage made of honoy, and was told to drink the contents, and keep the cup. This custom is observed when they wish to show very great honour either to ambassadors or others. But as there appeared to me too much to drink at once, I drank about a quarter of it, and His Highness, who was aware of my habits, seeing that I could not drink more, ordered the cup to be emptied and given back to me. I kissed his Highness's hands, and took leave of him. I was accompanied to the staircase by many of his harons, who embraced me with great demonstrations of friendship. I then went home, and had prepared everything for my departure; but Marco wished that I should previously dine with him.

On the 21st of January, 1476, after partaking of a good dinner with Marco and my own people, I took leave of him, and we entered our sani and departed. These sani, which are only used on the ice, somewhat resemble little houses, and are drawn by one horse. Each person has his own. You sit inside with as much clothing as you require and drive the horse. They go very fast and are made to contain all the provisions and everything that is necessary. The Patriarch of Antioch, or Brother Ludovico, who had been detained by the Duke on the representation of Marco, was, after great efforts on my part, released, and was to have accompanied us; but, seeing that he appeared to have no desire to do so, I started alone with my people, and a man was sent by the Duke to accompany me, with orders

that I should be provided with other guides from place to place throughout the whole of his territories. In the evening we lodged at a very strange village; and, although I was aware that we should have to undergo many discomforts and hardships, on account of the intense cold of those countries, and from having to travel continually through forests, I welcomed every discomfort and was intent on nothing but travelling day and night; nor had I any fear, so great was my desire to escape from those places and ways of living.

We left this village on the 22nd, and travelled continually through forests, in extreme cold, until the 27th, when we reached a little town called Viesemo. Leaving here, we took guides from place to place, and reached another little town called Smolencho, from which we departed with another guide, leaving the dominions of the Duke of Muscovy to enter Lithuania, which belongs to Casimir, King of Poland. We then proceeded to a small town called Trochi, where we found His Majesty, the said King.

Be it observed that, from the 21st of January, when we left Moscow, until the 12th of February, when we reached Trochi, we travelled continually through forests. The country was generally flat, with a few hills. Sometimes we found a village where we rested, but usually slept in the forest. At midday we took our meals at places where we found that fires had been made, and the ice had been broken to water the horses by persons who had preceded us. We then added wood to the fire, and sat round it to partake of what little provision we had with us. We certainly underwent great suffering; for when we were warm on one side, we had to turn the other to the fire, and I slept in my sano rather than on the ground. We travelled three days and slept two nights on a frozen river; and we were said to have travelled three hundred milos, which is a great distance. His Majesty having heard of my arrival, sent two gentlemen to congratulate me on my safe arrival, and to

invite me to dine with him on the following day. On this day, which was the 15th, the King sent me, as a present, a dress of crimson damask, lined with ermine; and I was taken to the palace in one of the Royal sani drawn by six beautiful horses. Four barons were on foot outside the sane, and others accompanied us with much state. On reaching the presence chamber I found His Majesty seated on a most handsomely adorned throne with two of his sons, young and handsome as angels, at his side clothed in crimson satin. A great many harems and knights of distinction were also present. A seat was placed for me in front of His Majesty, who received me with great affection and made me shake hands with his sons. His kindness and courtesy towards me could not have been greater had he been my father. I wanted, and tried as well as I could, to speak kneeling, but he would not allow me to begin until I had taken a seat, which I was at length obliged to do, in compliance with his repeated commands. I then briefly related to His Majesty the particulars of my voyage, describing what had occurred to me at the Court of Ussuncassan, and giving an account of the power of that monarch and of the customs of his country, which he appeared very desirous to know. I also described the manners and the resources of the Tartars, and spoke of the dangers I had passed on the journey. I was listened to by the King with the greatest attention for half an hour, so pleased did he appear to hear me. I then thanked His Majesty, in the name of our Illustrious Signory, for the present and the honour he had conferred upon me. His Majesty replied by his interpreter that he rejoiced greatly at my arrival, as it was thought when I set out on my journey that I should never return. He then said that he had heard with great interest about Ussuncassan and the Tartars, and that he felt sure that what I had said was true; and, he added, that he had never before met with anyone who had told him the truth. I was finally made to enter

another room, where the tables were laid, and where, shortly afterwards, the King and his two sons entered to the sound of trumpets in great state. His Majesty sat down to table, his two sons being on the right hand side, and the chief bishop on the left. I was placed next to the latter, at no great distance from His Majesty. There were also many barons at the tables, but at some distance. I think there might have been, in all, more than forty persons. The viands, as they were brought in on large platters and in great abundance, were always preceded by trumpets, and knives were placed before us after our own fashion. We remained at table about two hours, during which time His Majesty asked me many questions relating to my voyage, which I fully answered. When the repast was over, I rose to take leave of His Majesty, and asked him whether he had any further commands. He replied, very kindly, that he wished to be well recommended to my Illustrious Signory, and commanded his sons to tell me the same. I then took leave of His Majesty and of his sons, with due respect, and was honourably accompanied to the chamber where I lodged. The King gave directions that I should be accompanied by a guide who should see that guides and escorts were provided for me throughout the country, in order that I might travel everywhere in safety.

On the 16th, we left Trophi and travelled till the 25th, when we reached a place called Ionici. Leaving Ionici, we entered Poland, where we were provided with guides from one place to another, according to the King's commands. Having arrived at a city called Varsovia, which is under the dominion of two brothers, I was received with much honour, and a guide was provided for me, who accompanied me into Poland. As I have already spoken of this kingdom, I shall only add that it is a fine country, and appears to abound in meat and other provisions, but produces very little fruit of any kind. We saw castles and villages, but no

town worth mentioning. Every night wa found lodgings, and were well received averywhere. It is a safe country.

It was on the 1st of March, 1477, that we reached this city; and, as we had performed the whole journay from Moscow on the above-mentioned sani, I and my people were much fatigued, both on account of tha great cold and tha other hardships we had endured. I, therfore, remained in this beautiful city nntil the 5th, as wa were lodged in comfortable quarters, and well provided with everything we wanted, and could obtain horses to continue our journey.

On the 5th we left, and came to another small town called Messariza, belonging to the same King. After leaving hera wa arrived at tha frentiors of Poland and Germany, which wa passed, not without fear and dangar.

On tha 9th, wa reachad Frankfort, a city halonging to the Marquis of Brandenburg, and, having pnt up at the same housa at which I had stayed en my outward journey, the landlord recognised me, and was very much surprized. He received ma with great respect and kindness, and said that we had escaped great dangers in crossing the frontiere.

On the 10th, we left Frankfort, and, as wa travallad through Garmany, foud a continual improvement, as well in tha villages and castles as in tha cities and lodgings. As I was, on tha 15th, in the vicinity of a city callad Ian, I met Priest Stephano, who was on hie way back to ma from our Illustrious Signory with my ransom. Tho joy wa both felt at meeting again may he easily imagined, and was certainly due, lika everything else, to the Grace of God. When we had embraced each other, and heard all we had to say, we enterad tha city of Ian, where wa rostd.

We left hera on tha 17th, and on tho 22ad reached Nuremberg, a vary beautiful city, as I have already said. Being mnch fatigued, and wishing to keep tha feast of tha Most Holy Incarnation of our Lord Jasns Chriet (and this wae my principal reason), I determined to remaiu here

whilst the festival lasted, and we certainly enjoyed a refreshing reposo, of which we stood in groat need.

On the 26th, we left Nuremberg, which is governed by a municipality, hut subjuct to the Emperor. Every night we lodged in good and important cities,—among others, Augsbnrg,—and passed through many more.

On the morning of the 4th of April, 1477, which was Good Friday, we arrived at Trent, where, having heard of the miracle of the blessed Simon, I considered it my dnty not only to pay respect to his holy remains, and keep Easter Day, hnt to confess and take the sacrament. On the 6th, therefore, which was Easter Snnday, I took the sacrament, together with my people, and remained in Trent to observe the festival.

On the morning of tho 7th, with that easily-imagined longing to reach our own dear land which made every day appear a year, I left Trent after taking leave of its Roverond Bishop, by whom I had been honoured and well received, and came to Scals, the first place belonging to our Illustrious Signory. And, in order to fulfil a vow I had made, I started for S. Maria di Monte Arthon, where I arrived on the 9th at midday. Having satisfied the requirements of my vow and made the promised offering, I took leave of Brother Simone, the prior of the place, and came to the Portello at Padna. Nor did I omit to retnrm thanks to our Lord God and to His dearest Mother, who had saved me from so many perils and hardships, and brought me safely back to where I desired, which was more than I over ox- pected. And, although I was corporeally in this place, my mind almost doubted the fact, so impossible did it seem when everything was taken into consideration. I had written to my brother and to my family, to let them know that I should arrive at Venico on Thursday, the 10th, about the hour of Vespers; but my longing was so great, that I was nunable to observc this arrangoment. I embarked,

thorefore, before daybreak, and reached the Zuffasine about two o'clock in tho day. Going alengside, in order to accomplish another vow at S. Maria di Gratia before going home, I met my brother, Messer Agustin, in tho Canal della Giudecca, and two of my brothers-in-law. They were very much astonished to see me, as they had made certain that I was dead, and when we had embraced each other affectionately wo went to S. Maria di Gratia. As on Thursday there was a Council of Pregadi, I considored it also my duty, before going heme, to pay the respects to tho Illustrious Signory, and to report how I had executed my commission. I went, therefore, just as I was, to the Council of the Pregadi, and after tho necessary salutations, was orderod to mount the rostrum and report what I had to say, which I accordingly did. And, as our Serene Prince was rather unwell, and not at the Conucil, when I had concluded and taken leave of the Signory, I went to him. He was overjoyed to see mo, and I related briefly a part of what I had done. I then went home, and immedaitely returned sincere thanks to our Lord God, who had vouchsafed me such favour in delivering me from so many dangers, and bringing me back to my family, whom I had so often despaired of ever seeing again.

Here I conclude this voyage. I might possibly have written in a moro elegant stylo, bnt I preferred stating the truth in the way I have due to adorning falsehood in fine and olegant languago. And if anything relating to Germany has been omitted, let no ono be surprisod, as it did not appear to me necessary to speak at length in this relation of a country which is so near and familiar to us.

BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE DOMINIONS OF USSUNCASSAN.

THE extensive country of Ussuncassan is bounded by the Ottoman empire and by Caramania. Turcomania, his first province, joins the dominions of the Soldan towards the district of Aleppo. Persia, which Ussuncassan wrested, more by good fortune than superior power, from Iausa, whom he caused to be put to death, has Tauris for its capital and seat of government. At the distance of twenty-four days' journey from this city, in an east-south-easterly direction is Siras, the last town in Persia. The Persian empire is also bounded by the country of the Zagatai, who were the children of the Tartar Sultan Busech with whom there is frequently war, and who still cause some anxiety. It is also bounded by Modia, belonging to Sivanza, the Lord of Sumachi, who pays an annual tribute to Ussuncassan; by Gorgania, belonging to King Pancrati; and by Gorgora, beyond the plain of Arsigan.¹ It is said that Ussuncassan also possesses some territory on the other side of the Euphrates towards the Ottoman empire. The whole of Persia, as far as Spama,² its capital, where I have been, at a six days' journey from Siras, is a most arid country; there is scarcely a tree to be seen, and the water is for the most part bad. The country is, nevertheless, tolerably well supplied with all kinds of provisions and fruits, which are grown by artificial irrigation. Ussuncassan appeared to me to be about seventy years of age. He was tall, thin, and handsome, but did not appear prosperous. His eldest son, by the Card lady, was named

¹ Arsigan.

² Isfahan.

Gurlumemeth; he was very famous, and it was with him that his father was at war. By another wife he had three sons. The eldest, called Sultan Chali, was said to be about thirty-five years of age. It was to him that Ussuncassan had given his city of Siras. The second, named Lacuhei, might have been about fifteen years old. The name of the third, a boy of about seven, I do not remember. By another wife he had a son called Mesobei, who had made war against him, his father, whom I saw every day, and whom he kept in chains for having conspired with Gurlumameth, and finally had put to death. I was desirous of learning from different persons the extent of Ussuncassan's resources. Those who give the highest estimate say that he has fifty thousand horsemen, though these are not all of the best. I also wished to know how many men were brought into the field during the war with the Ottoman, and was told that there might have been upwards of forty thousand. This I heard from persons, most of whom had served in that war. But they were of opinion that this army was not intended to fight against the Ottoman, but only to restore Pirameth, the Lord of Caramaoia, to his country, which was in the possession of the Ottoman. Nor did Ussuccassan exert himself for any other purpose. Those who hold a different opinion are considered by most people to be wrong. I have had the opportunity of hearing and understanding everything, and only state what I have seen and heard. I will refrain from mentioning many other things,—which are, however, not very important,—that I may not make my narrative too long.

END OF THE TRAVELS IN PERSIA OF
M. AMBROSIO CONTARINI.

E R R A T A.

Page 19, Note.—“Tesolla”. This word here means “thistles”, “teasella”; and “gorri”, in the Italian text, should be “cards”.

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A NARRATIVE
OF
ITALIAN TRAVELS
IN
PERSIA,
IN THE
FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES.

Translated and Edited
BY
CHARLES GREY, Esq.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY.



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A NARRATIVE

or

ITALIAN TRAVELS IN PERSIA.

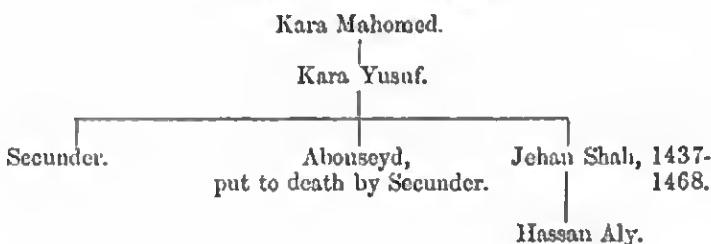
THE close of the fifteenth century is an epoch in the history of the East, and especially of Persia, of which but little is known. The blast of Timour's invasion had swept over that historic land and left it desolate. These four Accounts of Travels by Europeans are, therefore, especially interesting in a geographical and historical point of view, and will, with the books of Barbaro and Contarini, which are in Ramusio's collection, complete the series of Italian voyages about that period. In order clearly to understand the facts brought forward, it will be necessary to glance at the motives of policy which started the embassies, and the historical changes which influenced their results.

In Eastern Europe the Byzantine empire had, after a long and gradual decline, at length crumbled into ruins beneath the power of the Ottomans, which threatened to be as great a scourge to Europe as that of Timur (or Tamerlane) had been to Asia, while the stability and vitality of their imperio offered a great contrast to the ephemeral charac-

ter of Timur's dominion. Singly, the powers of Christendom could in vain hope to withstand their terrible foe; and Venice, the Great Republic, then rich and flourishing, with a far-sighted policy, endeavoured to induce all the Christian princes to make common cause against the Ottoman Turks.

Hungary and Poland were engaged in continuous warfare with the Musulmans; but the petty jealousies, which no danger, however imminent, could lull, caused the other powers to look coldly on the proposed alliance. Venice, in her need, then cast her eyes to the East, where she found a new dynasty firmly established in the ancient kingdom of Persia, the inveterate foe of the house of Othman. That country, after the death of Timour, had been nominally subject to his descendants, though two rival Toorkoman tribes had established principalities in Azerbigan and Diarbekr. These were the Kara Koinlu, and Ak-koinlu, or the Black and White Sheep, between whom a deadly feud existed; the former were the first to rise to power, under their chief, Kara Mahomed; while his son, the famous Kara Yusuf, threw off the yoke of the descendants of Timour in 1410. Secunder, the son of Kara Yusuf, waged war with Shah Rokh; and, after his death, his brother Jchan Shah, in 1437, not only overran Irak, Fars, and Kerman, but in 1457 besieged and pillaged Herat. The Kara Koinlus kept the throne until 1486.

KARA KOINLU RULERS.



In that year the chief of the rival tribe of the Ak-koinloos, named Uzun Hassan, who had established himself at Diarbekr, succeeded in defeating Jehan Shah in a battle in which the latter fell. The Ak-koinloos were now masters of Persia, and Uzun Hassan carried his victorious arms against Sultan Abouseyd, the reigning prince of the house of Timour, who also fell before him.

Malcolm's account of the reign of Uzun Hassan is very meagre. He was the chief of the Ak-koinlu, or Turks, of the tribe of White Sheep, and established a powerful principality at Diarbekr. He defeated and killed Jehan Shah and his son Hassan Aly, whom he had taken prisoner, with all his family. The dynasty which Uzun Hassan founded is termed Bayenderes; the family date their rise from the reign of Timour, who made them grants of land in Armenia and Mesopotamia. Hassan, after defeating his rival, engaged in a war with Sultan Abouseyd. He owed his triumph to his skill and activity in a predatory warfare, and at last having taken his enemy prisoner, made himself master of a great part of the dominions of the house of Timour. Malcolm

says : " Uzun Hassan, after making himself master of Persia, turned his arms in the direction of Turkey ; but his career was arrested by the superior genius of the Turkish emperor, Mahomet II ; he suffered a signal defeat, which terminated his schemes of ambition. He died after a reign of eleven years, at the age of seventy. All authors agree in ascribing valour and wisdom to this prince. We are told by an European ambassador, who resided at his court, that he was a tall thin man, of a very open countenance, and that his army amounted to fifty thousand horse, a great proportion of which were of very indifferent quality." He adds that this ambassador was an envoy from Veniee, sent by that Republic to solicit the aid of Uzun Hassan against the Ottoman. The personage alluded to by Maleolm must have been M. Josafat Barbaro, the successor of M. Caterino Zeno.

Uzun Hassan had already been in collision with the Turks, having, when ruler of Diarbekr, undertaken to defend Calo Johannes of the noble house of the Comneni, one of the last of the Christian emperors of Trebizond, against Mahomet II. This alliance had been cemented by his marriage with the beautiful princess Despina, daughter of Calo Johannes, in which manner he was connected with some of the princely families of Venice, so that the way for an embassy was easily paved. The Venetians might hope much from the ambitious and turbulent character of the Persian prince ; and in this they were not disappointed, as it needed but little persuasion to

induce the hitherto almost invincible soldier to take up arms against his hereditary foe. Worn out by a state of anarchy, rival chiefs and tribes struggling for power before the land had fully risen again after the blast of foreign conquest had passed over it, the ancient glory of Persia had paled before the brighter light of its rival ; but the old hatred still remained, with the will, if not the power, to oppose the Turkish arms. An embassy to Uzun Hassan being determined on, the difficult task of sending an envoy still remained. The duty would be a hazardous one, as any one proceeding from Venice to Persia would have to run the gauntlet of the Turks. The sister of Queen Despina had married Nicolo Crespo, the Duke of the Archipelago, whose four daughters were in turn wedded to four of the merchant princes of Venice, one of whom was M. Caterino Zeno, a man of courage and talent. He, of all others, appeared the fittest to undertake this honourable but perilous mission, and the patriotism of Zeno induced him to overlook the dangers he would run in traversing hostile and almost unknown regions before reaching his destination. He was rewarded for his courage by arriving safely in the presence of the king, though not without meeting serious obstacles in his journey through Caramania.

Zeno was well received by the monarch ; and, being supported in his arguments by his aunt, the Queen Despina, succeeded in inducing Uzun Hassan to take up arms against the Turk.

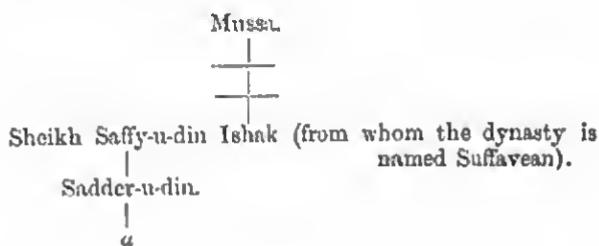
In 1472 the Persians marched into the Turkish

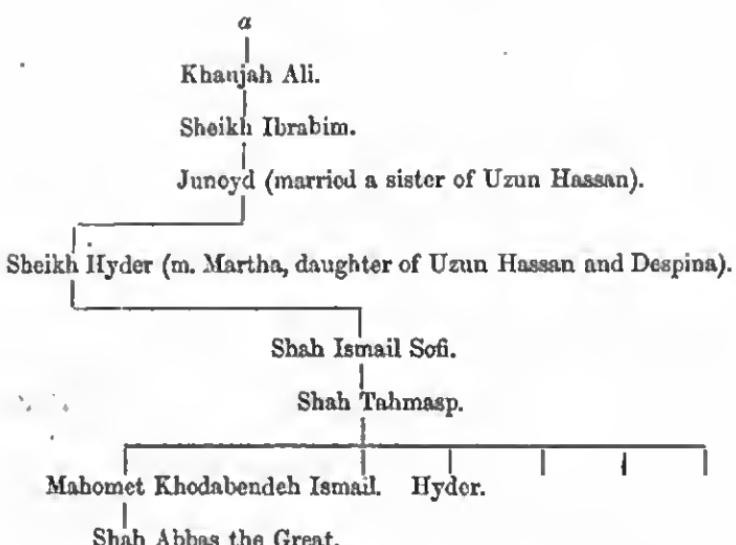
dominions and ravaged them, but a flying column under Mustafà, the second son of Mahomet II, routed a force of Persians under one of Uzun Hassan's generals. In the following year the Grand Turk invaded Persia with an immense army, but met with a severe check while endeavouring to cross the Euphrates near Malatia, and was forced to retreat. Uzun Hassan, however, following up his success too rashly, was routed by the Turks at Tabeada. M. Caterino Zono was then sent as ambassador from Uzun Hassan to various Christian princes, among others to Poland and Hungary, to incite them to take up arms against the Ottoman. M. Josafat Barbaro and Ambrogio Contarini were sent from Venice to take his place at the Persian Court; but no arguments could again induce the Persian monarch to meet the Turks in the field.

The account of Zeno's Travels in Ramusio's collection was prepared from Zeno's letters, as the editor was never able to get possession of a copy of Zeno's book. For this reason the geographical details in these Travels are not so explicit as in the others, and Ramusio has in his book put Zeno's narrative after several others, although in date he was the first. It is supplemented by a sketch of Persian history subsequent to M. Caterino's embassy, taken from other sources. MM. Barbaro and Contarini succeeded Zeno. The account of their travels will form a separate work.

The second author in this collection is a M. Giovan Maria Angioletto, who was in the service of the

Turks, and present in their campaign against the Persians. He describes, shortly, the rise of Uzun Hassan, and gives a full desription of the Turkish invasion from the Turkish point of view, and the details of the march. Unghermaumet's rebellion against his father Uzun Hassan is also mentioned by him as well as by Zeno. After the death of Uzun Hassan and his son Yakoob, Persia fell into a state of anarchy caused by the civil wars between various members of the dominant Akkoinloo family; from this the country rose at length, through the process of a revolution, almost without a parallel in the history of the world. Not only was there a change in the dynasty and form of government, but the empire was revived in a native Persian family, and an end was put to the long foreign domination. More than all, the very religion of the people was essentially altered: a fact which, by widening the gulf which separated them from their surrounding enemies, consolidated the empire and created a nationality. The family which now rose on the ruins of the Ak-koinlu power traced their descent from Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet, through Mussa, the Seventh Imaum:—





The chiefs of this family were regarded by the Persians as saints, and when Sheikh Hyder, a son-in-law of Uzun Hassan, rose in arms against Rustan, King of Persia, he was joined by great numbers. This insurrection was, however, ineffectual, and it was reserved for Sheikh Hyder's son, afterwards Shah Ismail Sofi, to overthrow the fast decaying power of the Ak-koinlus, which was still further weakened by the struggle for the throne between two brothers named Alwung Beg and Morad Khan. The victorious career of Ismail is treated of by Angiolello, as also his wars with the Uzbegs under Sheibani Khan, and the Turks under Selim I, the former of whom were routed at the great battle of Merv Shah Jehan in 1514; but from the latter Ismail sustained a defeat in the plains of Chalderan, near Khoi, which left Tauris at the mercy of Selim.

Angiolotto, leaving Persian history, gives a full and animated account of Selim's expedition against Egypt, which resulted in the conquest by the Turks of that great country and the deaths of the two last Soldans, Khafur el Ghouri and Tomant Bey.

The Third Book of Travels from Ramusio is that of an unnamed author trading from Damascus and Aleppo to Persia, where he remained upwards of eight years, from 1511 to 1520 ; so that he also was an eye-witness of the glory of Shah Ismail. The style of this latter is more involved ; but while his historical facts correspond, his description of the towns and country is more detailed, as is but natural, from his occupation, which was more suited than that of an ambassador for gaining geographical information. He opens his narrative by describing, with a good deal of minuteness, the route from Aleppo to Tauris, finishing with an account of that city and of the historical events that took place during his stay.

There is a long gap between these two latter writers and Vincentio d'Alessandri, an envoy from Venice in 1571 to the Court of Shah Tahmasp, the son and successor of Shah Ismail Sofi, who had died in 1524. This writer is mentioned by Knolles in his General History of the Turks, from whom the following account of the intermediate history is also taken. In the year 1534 Solyman was persuaded by Ibrahim Pasha to make war on Persia, stirred up against the new Shiah religion which had been introduced by Shah Ismail Sofi. The purpose of Ibrahim was also furthered by a Persian named Ulemas,

brother-in-law of the King Tahmasp, who had revolted from him,¹ fearing to be called to account for his extortions. After making preparations, Solyman sent Ibrahim and Ulema with an army into Syria, and in the spring they advanced, without resistance, as far as Tauris. Tahmasp, the Persian monarch, was then absent, engaged in a war with Kezienbassa, Prince of the Corasine Hyrcanians; but, hearing of the taking of his capital, returned in haste for the defence of his empire. Solyman, on reports reaching him of the successes of his generals, crossed the Euphrates at Malatia, and joined them at Tauris. Tahmasp, not daring to join battle with Solyman, retreated to the mountains above Sultania, where the Turkish army, endeavouring to follow him, was greatly distressed, and forced to retreat from the inclemency of the weather. Solyman now retired to Mesopotamia, where he took Bagdad and added the provinces of Babylonia and Mesopotamia to the Turkish empire. In the following year, 1535, Solyman again entered Tauris and ransacked it; but, finding that nothing was to be done against Tahmasp, withdrew to his own dominions greatly harassed on his journey by Persian cavalry, who at last surprised and routed his army near Betilis, under the command of Delimenthes. This last reverse was the occasion of the fall of the great Pasha Ibrahim, the friend and counsellor of Solyman, by whose orders he was murdered. Ulema was afterwards made

¹ According to Alessandri, Shah Tahmasp would allow no one to be avaricious but himself.

Governor of Bosina. In 1549 the cause of Ercases Iimirza, Prince of Shirvan and brother of Shah Tahmasp, was espoused by Solyman against Tahmasp; but, in a tedious war, except the capture of Van by the Turks, nothing of any importance took place, as the Persian monarch, pursuing his usual tactics, acted on the defensive, and retreated to the mountains. Discord being sown between Solyman and Ercases Iimirza, the latter fled to Chaldea, where he was treacherously delivered into the hands of Tahmasp, who caused him to be murdered in prison. Bajazet, the son of Solyman, after his rebellion in 1556, fled for safety to the Court of Tahmasp, who received him with favour at first; but his mind becoming embittered against him, he caused his followers to be dispersed and slain, and Bajazet himself to be cast into prison. Solyman used all the means in his power to have Bajazet delivered into his hands, but Tahmasp would not consent; but afterwards, in consideration of a large sum of money, agreed to allow him to be made away with.¹ Bajazet accordingly was strangled, with his four sons. On the accession of Selim II, Tahmasp sent ambassadors to Constantinople to ratify a peace between them, which was concluded in the year 1568. About Vincenzo d'Alessandri Knolles says, A.D. 1571:—

“Whilst these things were in doing, the Venetians, the more to entangle the Turke, thought it good to make proofe, if they might by any means stirre up Tamss, the Persian king, to take up armes against him; who, as hee was a prince

¹ Angerius Busbequius legationis Turcicæ epist. 4.

of great power, so did he exceedingly hate the Turks, as well for the difference between the Persians and them about matters of their vaiae saperstition, as for the manifold injurie he had oftentimes sustained. There was one Vincent Alexander, one of the secretaries for the State, who, having escaped out of prison at Constantinople, was but a little before come to Venico, a warie wise man, and of great exprise, who, for his dexteritie of wit and skilfullaesso in the Turkish language, was thought of all others most fit to take in hand so great a matter. He having received letters and instructions from the Senat, and furnished with all things necessarie, travelling through Germanie, Polonia, and the forrests of Mæssia, in Turkish attire, came to Moneastron, a port towne upon the side of the Euxine or Black Sea, at the month of the great river Boristhenes, where he embarked himself for Trapezond, but was by a contrarie wind driven to Sinope, a citie of great traffike; from whence he travelled, by rough and broken wmys, to Cutay, keeping still upon the left hand because he woald not fall upon any part of the Turk's armie (which was then marching towards Cyprus through all those countrios); nevertheless, he fell upon a part thereof, from which he with great danger rid himself, boinge taken for a Turko, and by blind and troublesome wayes, through rockes and forrests, arrived at leaght at Erzirum, a strong citie of the Turks, then upon the frontiers of the Turk's dominions toward the Georgiins. This jorney of Alexander's was not kept so secret, but that it was vented at Constantinople by a spie, who, under the colour of friendship haunting the Venetian embassadoar's house at Pera, had got certaine knowledge of the going of Alexander in Persia. Whereupon, certaine courroirs were sent out with all epeed to heset the three straight passages into Persia, whereby it was supposed he must of necessitie passe, with certyn notes also of the favour of the man, of his stature, and other marks wherby he was best to be knowne. But he in so dangerous a countrio dounting all things, and fearing such a matter, leaving his companie be-

hind him, with incredible celerite posted from Erzirum to Tauris, and was a great way gene before the Turk's courrone camo into those quarters; who, yet hearing of him, followcd after as far as they durst, but coald not overtake him. Alexander, comming to Tauris, understood that the court lay at Casbin, ahont twelve days' journey farther up into the country. Comming thither the 14th of August of this year, 1571, he chanced to meet with certaine English marchante, with whom he had beene before acquainted; hy whose helpe he not only got to speake with Ayder Tamas, the king's third sonne, but learned of them also the manners and fashions of the Persian court, and how to beare himselfe thorein. The Persians, by reason of the intollerable heate, doe most of their business at that time of the yeare by night. Whereforo, Alexander, abeut midnight brought in to Aider, declared unto him the cause of his comming: und the noxt night admitted into the speech of his aged father, delivered his letters of credence, and in the name of the Senat, declared unto him, with what perfidious dealiug Selymns, the Turkish emperor, was about to tako away Cyprus from the Venetians, with what greedinesse and pride he had set upon the Christians, and that discharged of that warre, he wold of all likelyhood set upon the Persians; having the selfesame quarrell unto the Persians that he had unto the Venetiane, that is, un ardeut and insatiable desire of soveraignetie; a sufficient cause for the greedie Turke to repute every king, tho richer that he wus, the more his enemie. After that, setting foorth to the full the prowesse of the Christians, the wonderfull preparation they had madc, both at sea and land, he persuaded the king, with all his power, to invade the Turke, now altogether busied in the warres of Cyprns; and to recover aguino such parts of his kingdom as Solyman, the father of Selymus, had taken from him. Warres, he said, were more happily managed abroad than at home; that, sithence he alone (the Christian princes all then at quiet) had withstandd the Turk's whole force and powor, he needcd not now to doubt of his most prosperous

successe, the Christian princes now joyning with him. That he was much unmindful of his former losses and wrongs, if he thought he enjoyed an assured peace, which he should find to be nothing else but a deferring of war unto more cruell times; and that the Turke, if he shold overrun Cyprus, would forthwith turne his victorions arms upon him. The end of one warre was (as he said) hnt the beginning of another; and that the Turkish empire could never stay in one state; and that he wold observe not the Turko's words, hnt his deeds; and how that the Othoman emperours, according to the oportunitie of the times, used by turnes sometimes force, sometimes deceit, as best served their purposes. That no princes had at all times, by dissomhled peace and uncertaine leagues, more delnded some, nntill they had oppressed others. He wished also, that at length this his cunning dealing might appeare unto tho world; and that princes would thinke, that being combined together, they might more easily overcome the Turke, than being seperated, defend their owne; that in former times, somctimes will, sometimes occasion, was wanting to them to unite their forces; and that, therefore, they should now combine themsolves for their common good against tho common enemio; that it conserned no lesso tho Persians than tho Christians, to have the power of the Turko abated; and that this taking np of armes should bo for the good of the Persian king, howsoever things should fall out; if well, he should then recover what he had before lost, with much more that was the Turko's; if otherwise, yet by voluntarie entering into armes, to countenance himselfe, and to givo tho Trnks occasion to think that he feared him not, which was (as he said) the only way to preservro their common safetie, which wold be unto all tho confederat princes easio enough, if they themselves made it not more difficult than the power of tho enemie. The speech of tho embassadour was willingly heard; whorounto the king answercd, that he would consider thereupon what he had to doe; and, in tho meanwhile, a faire house was appointed for tho embassadour

and his followers, and honntifull allowaneo appointed for tho king's charge. He was also many times sumptnously feasted hy the noblemen whom he still requested to bo mediatours nnto the king, to take that honourable warro in hand. Tho king had at that time a sonno called Ismael, a man of great spirit, whom he then kept in durance, for that he, with too much insoloncie, made roades into the frontiers of the Turke's dominions, to the disturbance of the leagues his father had before made with the late Tnrkish omperor, Solymen : nnto him, Alexander having accosso, was of him eourteously heard, who, fretting and languishing for vorio griefe of revouge upon the Turkes, wished that either the king, his father, had his mind, or he himselfe the power of a king, and said, That if evor it were his good fortune to obtaino, he would indeed shew what he then in mind thought. But of him more shall be said hereafter. Whilst this matter went moro slowly forward in the Porsian conrt than the embassadour would have had it, newos was brought unto the conrt of the great vietorie which tho Christians had much about that time obtained of the Turkes at sea ; upon which occasion the embassadour soleit the king more earnestly than before, to make himselfe partaker of the vietorie of the Christians hy entring into confederation with thom, and hy taking np of armes, rathor than to hold uncertain friendship with the Turkes in their miseries, by whom he had heon so often wronged. This ho said, was the only time for the Porsian kiug to recover his formor glorio, the liko offer whereof would neithor often chance, neithor long stay ; and that if he sufford so fit an opportunity to slip away, he shonld afterwards in vaino wish for the same, when it wore so late. This so wholsome connsell was woll heard, hut prevailed nothing to stir np the aged king, who, thon trouhlod with rebellion in Media, or woarie of the former warres he had had with the Turke, and glad of such peaco as he had then with him, answered the enhassadour: That, for as much as the Christian princes had made a porpetuall league amongst thomselves, he would

for two yeares expect the event, and afterward, as occasion served, so to reselv upon peace or warre. This improvident reselntien of the king brought nfterward unprofitable and too late repentance unto the whole Persian kingdome, when, as within a few yeares after, all the calamities which the Senat had by their embassadour (as true prophets) foretold, redounded unto the great shaking thereof. For the Cyprian warre once ended, and peace concluded with the Venetians, Amurath, the sonne of Selymns, succeeding his father in the Turkish empiro, invading the Persian king, tooke from him the great country of Media, new called Silvan, with a great part of Armenia the Great, and the regall citie of Tauris, as shall be here after in due place declared. At which time the Persian, who new refused to take up armes or join in league with the Christian princes, repented that he hnd not before hearkened unto tho wholsome counsell of the Venetians ; and, tanght by his owne harmes, wished in vaine that the Christian princes world againe take np armes and joyne with him against the Turke."

In the year 1576 troubles arose in the Persian kingdom consequent on the death of Tahmasp, which were taken advantage of by Sultan Murad III. Tahmasp had eleven sons ; Mahomed Khodabendch, who suffered from a weakness in his eyes ; Ismael, a turhulent warrior, confined in the fortress of Cabaca, between Tauris and Cashin ; Hyder, the third, with a powerful party in the State ; and the others, Mahmoud, Solyman, Mustafa, Emanguli, Alichar, Ahmed, Ahrahim, and Ismael the younger.

Before his death he appointed Ismael his successor, to the great discontent of Hyder, who, being in the palace, caused himself to be crowned ; hut Ismael's friends being strong he was imprisoned in his palace and soon after murdered. Ismael, on ascending the

throne, caused his eight younger brothers to be murdered, and greatly oppressed the country;¹ he himself, after a year's reign, met with his fate, being murdered by his sister. The Persian chiefs raised Mahomed Khodabendeh to the throne, who, in endeavouring to avenge his brothers' deaths, caused great discord in the kingdom, of which Murad determined to take advantage, inducing the Georgians under Levent Ogli and the people of Shirvan to revolt. After a few years, however, the incapable Mahomet was dethroned by the Persian nobles to make way for his son Abbas. This prince, perhaps the best ruler Persia had had for many centuries, began to reign in 1585, and is known to history as Shah Abbas the Great.

¹ He also sent to put Mahomed Khodabendeh to death, but died himself before the order was executed.



TRAVELS IN PERSIA,
BY
CATERINO ZENO.

RAMUSIO'S PREFACE.¹

HAVING undertaken to describo a journoy made in Persia hy M. Caterino Zeno, knight, at the time that our Republic, heing at war with the Turk, desired that he should be harassed on the East by the arms of the king Ussun Cassano, who, some years before with great skill in the art of war, had mado himself Master of Persia, and a great part of the neighhonring provinces; I have considered it suited to my undertaking, to treat of all the wars, which were waged in Persia, both between the members of the royal family and by the Persians against the Turks. And particularly to narrate the manner in which this Ussun Cassano, a poor nobleman, and the weakest in condition of many brothers² (*Giausa*,³ the eldest, having become King of Porsia), not possessing

¹ This Preface is by Ramusio; the rest is prepared by the same writer from the official letters of M. Caterino Zeno.

² Kara Mahomed, chief of the Kara Koinloo.

Kara Yussoof.

Secunder. Abouseyd. Jeban Shah.

Kara Yussoof or Hussun Ali, accordiog to Malcolm.

* Jeban Shah. Uzun Hassan was not his brother, as they were the respective chiefs of the rival tribes of Kara Koinloc and Ak-Koinloo. The dynasty founded by Uzun Hassan of the Ak-Koinloo tribe is termed Bayenderee; the influence of the family dates from the reign of Timour, who made them grants of land in Armenia and Mesopotamia.

more than thirty soldiers besides a small castle, afterwards raised himself to such grandeur, that he had the courage to dispute the empire of all Asia with the Ottoman house, which, under Mahomet II,¹ was a terror to the East.

But the arts by which he made himself king, his valour and cunning, I shall narrate as briefly as possible, as I consider these things worthy to be reported to our nation; for, amongst all the kings of the East, who existed since the Government was taken away from the Persians, and transferred to the Greeks, there have been none who equalled the glory of Darius Hystaspes and Ussun Cassano; and if fortune had favoured him in the second battle at Tabraca in the campaign of Tokat, as it did in the first he had with the Turks on the Euphrates, there is no doubt that by these two victories he would have made himself master of all Asia and Egypt. But it is to be regretted that some Eastern kings, great in power and intellect, have not had historians to celebrate their deeds, since among the Sultans of Egypt and among the Kings of Persia, there have been men most excellent in war,² and worthy not only of being compared with ancient barbarian kings famous in arms,³ but even with the great Greek and Roman commanders, in all those things which constitute able generals of armies. For the record of the deeds of such reach us Europeans, who are admirers of the virtues of men abroad and at home, in a condition so mutilated and imperfect, that from the few particulars we

¹ Mahomet II, the first Emperor of the Turks, reigned from 1450-1481.

² "Vixere fortis ante Agamemnona

Multi."—*Horace*, Book iv, ode 10.

³ It was by no means the case that at that time the Persian monarch had no poets or historians to celebrate their deeds, as the Augustan age, so to speak, of Persian literature was just then coming to a close, the two last of the great poets, Jami and Hatifi, flourishing at the Court of Abou-said and his successor Hoossein Meerza, the enlightened descendants of Timour. Hatifi died in 1522; his great poem was written to commemorate the victory of Ismael Shah over the Usbegs at Merv in 1514. The two famous historians, Mirkhond and Khondemir, also flourished at this time.

cannot draw up a complete history. Therefore, let no one marvel if in these my notes I do not describe things as fully in some places as I should have done, if I had had ampler information ; since M. Catorino, who, as has been said, went as ambassador to Ussun Cassano, wrote several letters, from which I have drawn the pith of this short history, for the satisfaction of those who, hearing discussions about the Sufi, and of his great pomp, are desirous of being informed of the affairs of the Persian Empire. And I know well that in thus writing to a parport different from what has been written by others, many will be apt to criticise me, as it is difficult to efface early impressions from the mind ; but before they do so, I beg thou will rather consider my good intentions than impute to me any desiro to gain a reputation for being hettor acquainted with the affairs of the world than other writers. But surely we ought far sooner to credit what is told us of the doings of Ussun Cassano, by one who was connected with him, and who got his information from the Queen Despina, his owa annt, than by those who, in their histories, have only availed themselves of the narrations of some Armenians, who, to take away his reputation, went about spreading the report that he was not born of royal blood, and that while he governed certain places in Armenia, by lavish expenditure, and gaining the favour of the soldiery, he seized an opportunity of casting off the sway of Giausa, and treacherously putting him to death with his son.¹ And thou add, to further embellish this lie, that in this Giansa the descendants of Moleoncre, formerly a great sultan of the Parthians, became extinct. These things are all well known not to be true, since how could Ussnn Cassano have made himself Lord of Persia, if he had not been of royal blood ; particularly, for this reason, that there is no nation which holds noble birth and royal descent in more estimation than the Persians. And to omit the ancient ex-

¹ Jahan Shah, Kara Yusuf.

ample of Darius Hystaspes,¹ the son of Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, there is the more recent one of Ismail; for, althongh he was not born of royal blood on his father's side, nevertheless his mother, called Martha, was daughter of Ussun Cassano, through whom the new king was tolerated, as formerly Darius was, as the son of Atossa. We must not believe that the partizans of the ancient kings² (if indeed there was a party, as these autbors say) would be so soon swept away; hecance it is impossible that a new dynasty should appear without causing great commotions and tumults, as we have seen in many kingdoms of Christendom; and, nevertheless, the reign of Ussnn Cassano, as regards internal affairs, was not visited by any blast of domestic or civil war, except that raised by his son Unghermaumet; but this was caused hy lust of power and not by a faction of a former reign. Therefore, read witbout chiding these my commentaries, in which, if I had been able to find the "Book of Travels of M. Caterino", who first gave information of the affairs of Persia, and preceded M. Giosafat Barbaro, and M. Amhrogio Contarini as amhassador to Persia from our Repnblc, I should have touched upon many other particulars, which would have hcen most acceptable to those who take an interest in such things.

As, in spite of all my researchb, I have never been able to get into my hands this Book of Travels, if I should find it (and I am snre there is no one so malicious as not to shew it), I will supply what I have now missed. But, as we say, he who does all he can, does much. Since we cannot get further particulars, let us accept these, and praise the industry of the good M. Caterino, and it being evident that, not heing able to find more on this subject among his writings, I cannot communicate it.

¹ Darius was the husband, not the son, of Atossa.

² There were two rival Toorkman tribes, as has already been noticed, the Kara-Koinloo and the Ak-Koinloo, who were engaged in continual struggles for the supremacy in Persia. Uzun Hassan was a chief of the Ak-Koinloo, or White Sheep.

CATERINO ZENO.

FIRST BOOK.

IN the year of our Lord Jesus Christ ons thousand four hundred and fifty, (1450), Giausa,¹ being King of Persia, Assimbeo² (who, from that time, on account of his deeds, called himself *Ussun Cassano*,³ which in the Persian tongue signifies “great man”), not contenting himself with being Lord of a small castls, began by little and little to nsurp the states, and tho jurisdictions of his other brothsrs less powerful than hiunself,⁴ who, either not bsing of a warlike disposition or for some other reason, preferred living in ease and not opposing his ambition. Thus he without difficulty raised himself in credit and reputation. Ussun Cassano was a warlike, valiant man, and abovs all of great liberality, which is a rare virtne, to enable great lords to gain over the affections of the soldiery, provided it is exrcised at the proper time and place, and towards the dsserving (so that hs who makes

¹ Jehan Shah. ² Hassan Beg, called Alymbeius by Knolles.

³ He was called Uzun Hassan aud Hassan et Taneel by the Arabs, from the fact, as the appellativo denotes, of his height, which was far above the standard. Barbaro describes him as a very tall, thin man. Taneel, Arabic, is the trauslation of Uzun or Oozoon, Turkish, and means “tall”, not “great”. Oozoon, in Turkish, means essentially long, not great.

⁴ *Ak-Koinloo Chiefs*:-

Kara Osman put to death by Secunder, chief of the Kara Koinloo.

Uzun Hassan, first of the Bayenderee kings.

Unghermaumet. Ezeinel. Calul. Yakoob. Martham. Sheikh Hyder.

Alwung Beg (Alumut).

Morad Khan.

Ismael Sofi.

use of it he not esteemed of small judgment or a prodigal). By this means he was soon followed by people of war, so that he brought together five hundred good horsemen, assaulted the great and famous city of *Amitto*;¹ in which fortune was so favourable to him, that he took it with so much reputation that from that time he had the support of all those regions. Hence, he thought he should easily be able to make himself master of the kingdom of Persia, provided his partizans, who now favoured him so readily, continued to do so. Therefore, having made of them a large army, he took the field with the intention, if *Giansa*² opposed him, of trying the fortune of battle. *Giansa*, who had been half apprehensive

¹ Amida (Diarbekr) was founded, according to Oriental tradition, by Tahmuras of the Paishdadian dynasty, and fortified by the Emperor Constantine, who probably surrounded it with the stupendous wall of black stone, from which the city is often called by the Turks Kārā Amid, or Black Amid. Some of the masonry is evidently Roman, though there are Cufic inscriptions on different parts of the wall. Kinneir says:—

"The houses are built of stone, and have a good appearance, but the streets, although paved, are narrow and filthy. The castle is on the north side of the town; it is also surrounded by a strong wall, and divided into many courts and handsome buildings, where the Pasha and his officers reside. The population of the town is said to amount to thirty-eight thousand souls, of which the greater proportion are Turks, and the remainder Armenians, Kurds, Jacobites, and Catholics. The bazaar is well supplied with corn and provisions, and the adjoining country is fruitful and well cultivated. Cotton, silk, copper, and iron are manufactured by the natives, and exported to Bagdad and Constantinople. When viewed from a distance, the city of Diarbekr has a fine appearance. The elevation of the surrounding mountains, the windings of the Tigris and height of the walls and towers with the cupolas of the mosques, give it an air of grandeur far above that of any other city which I have visited in this quarter of the world. In the spring the Tigris rises to a great height at this place, but in the month of December it was so shallow, that the water did not reach much above my horse's knees. It is generally passed on a bridge of twelve arches, situated about half a mile below the town. Diarbekr is sixty miles from Mardin, two hundred and eighty-seven from Orfa, and a hundred and seventy-two and a half from Malatea. Its position is fixed in latitude $37^{\circ} 55' 40''$ N., and longitude $39^{\circ} 53'$ E., as ascertained from actual observation by Mr. Simon."

² Jchan Shah.

of the designs of his brother¹ hearing of the assault and capture of Amitto,² did not think it politic to keep himself aloof and so allow Ussun Cassano to increase in power and also to repair the other disadvantages, which usually follow in the course of war. Therefore, having levied an army, he advanced, with almost all the forces of Persia, against Ussun Cassano. At this juncture, some Persian lords, who were friends of both, knowing what desolation would follow in Persia if they came to blows, thrust themselves between the brothers, and would have brought, with much difficulty, matters to a good understanding, if it had not been that Giansa, demanding a tribute of three hundred boy slaves from Ussun Cassano, and the latter not being willing to consent to it, proved the cause of all proposals of reconciliation being broken off. As he said, "Have I command over the sons of my vassals, that I should pay them as a tribute to Giausa; or can I forsooth dispose of them as my own? If Giausa wished to take them by force of arms from the hands of their fathers and mothers, I should never consent to it, even if I were certain of losing my life, as it is equally enjoined on the Prince to defend his people, as on the people to obey; it is not now to be thought of, that I should give them of free will."

This answer so touched to the quick, as it were, the hearts of those people, that there was not one who would not have risked his life for Ussun Cassano. Being held in this favour he artfully drew Giausa³ to the plains of *Arsenga*,⁴ where, having come to an engagement, he defeated and took him, pursuing his son, who sought safety in flight beyond Tauris.

¹ Uzun Hassan was not a brother of Jehan Shah, but of a different tribe.

² Diarbekr.

³ Jehan Shah was killed in the battle and his son Kara Yusuf taken prisoner.

⁴ Erzingan, Eriza, a town and district of the same name. The town is situated on the eastern branch of the Euphrates, below Erzeroum. The fine plain slopes gently from north to south, acting as a kind of

The Persian histories say, that Mahomet the Second, the lord of the Turks, who was afraid lest the greatness of Ussun Cassano should harm him in time, undertook to favour and replace Gisusa in power. Wherefore, Ussun Cassano, expecting some great commotion on this side, sent Unghormau-met, his son, a valiant young man, as far as Tauris, which was the chief place of a great region; while he himself on the other side went on reducing the whole of Persia to his sway, and conquered as far as the Indian Sea, possessing a mighty empire; which empire was comprised in these limits—on the east, the river Indus and the Tartars;¹ on the west, Gorgora,² Trehizond, Caramania, Soria,³ and Lesser Armonia, on this side of the Enphrates; on the south, the Arabs and the Sea of India; on the north, the *Sea of Bacca.*⁴ This his country was for the most part inhabited by Armenian Christians, and by native Persian races, separated by a continuous rampart of mountains, inhabited by Kurds, an independent people, and partly ruled over by the Lord of Betelis,⁵ who, some years later, seeing the greatness of Ussun Cassano, gave in his suhmission. And be vast drain for the waters of the mountains on the north and two other sides—viz., the Mezoor Dagh and the Keshcеш Dagh, thus conveying them to the Kara Sn. Otherwise, it is a perfect level, free from stone or elevation of any kind, but some artificial mounds at the east corner. It is a garrison town, with new harracks just built; the town and villages contain about twelve thousand houses, or, by the usual calculation, sixty thousand inhabitants. The soil is rich, producing abundance of grain, cotton, fruits, and melons.

¹ His dominions hardly extended so far, even after defeating Ahou Said, the reigning prince of the House of Timour, as Khorassan, Herat, Cahnl, etc., were governed by the successors of that prince.

² Georgia.

³ Syria.

⁴ The Caspian Sea.

⁵ Bitlis, the Armenian Pangash, about an equal distance between Diarhekr and Van, the scene of the signal defeat sustained by Solyman the Magnificent in 1535. Kinneir says:—

"The town extends across the greater part of the valley, the houses being built at some distance from each other in the manner of Rutnnz. The castle is situated on the top of a high mountain, which bounds the plain to the west. The inhabitants of the town and the neighbouring

cause at that time the Turkish arms were more than ever flourishing and illustrious under Mahomet II, Grand Turk, and made themselves felt gloriously in Asia and in Europe, Ussun Cassano, as generally happens to great Princes who live in jealousy about their states if they see another Prince of enterprise make great progress in war, fearing lest the immense power of the Ottoman house should in time destroy the Persian kingdom, made a close alliance and connection with Caloiano,¹ Emperor of Trahisonda, taking as a wife Despina, his daughter, under the condition that she might live in the Christian faith. This same Emperor had also married another of his daughters to the Lord Nicolo Crespo, Duke of the Archipelago, from whom were born four daughters, who were afterwards most honourably married to as many Venetian gentlemen, of the first nobility, and of one named Fiorenza settled in the Cornaro house, was born Madame Caterina, the Queen of Cyprns, and M. Giorgio, the Procnrator; Valenza married to M. Giovanni Loredano dalla Samitara, son of the late M. Aluise, the Procnrator, had no issue; of another, called Lucretia, married into the house of Prinli, was born M. Nicold, the Procurator. Lastly, from Violante, who married M. Caterino Zeno, knight, who was afterwards ambassador in Persia, was

villages amount to about twenty-six thousand—Kurds, Turks, Armenians, and Syrians. The Armenians have four churches and four monasteries, and, upon the whole, enjoy more liberty and are treated with greater respect than in most Mahomedan States. The lands around Bettis are highly cultivated, and produce grain of several kinds—cotton, hemp, rice, olives, honey, truffles, and mushrooms. There is abundance of gravel in the neighbourhood, and the mountains are infested by lions, wolves, and bears. Quarries of red and white marble have also been discovered at a short distance from the town."

¹ Calo Johannes, or Black John, brother of David, last Christian Emperor of Trebizond, was of the noble family of the Comneni, which became extinct with them. Trebizond was taken in 1461 by Mahomet II, Sultan of the Turks. Uzun Hassan had married Despina while still Prince of Diarbekr, before he had gained the throne.

horn M. Pietro, who hegot M. Caterino, who died last year, whose soal God hath taken to himself, and whose son, M. Nicold, still lives. This same M. Caterino, knight, in the misgivings which nearly all the powers of the world had of the powor of Mahomet, the Grand Turk, was despatched as ambassador from our Repnlic to Ussan Cassano, in order that if they were not able to raise the Sovereigns of the West to comhat the common enemy, who, iasatiable in his lnt of power, aspired to the empire of the world, they might at least induce those of the East, by the samo misgiviags to hecome anxions and mistrustful of their affairs.

Fortune, which often opposes itself to the loftiest desires of men, caused that our Republic, being then at the zenith of its greatness, and most flouishing throngh many acquisitions, having in recent years waged a glorious war in Lomhardy against Philippo Visconto, and having increased her dominion in that province, excited a certain jealousy in the Sovereigns of Europe, who feared lest such power and opulence should in time prove their ruin; and especially lest this Republic, being superior to the Roman in civil government, might in conrse of years attain the same grandcar; therefore, as if they had conspired together, when she invited each one into a league agaist Mahomet, they all plainly declined. On this account our ancestors, who, animated by an honoarable zeal, were eager for this politic enterprise, were filled with mach anxiety, seeing that eavy of their greatness woald occasion the ruin of Christendom. As, in the event of a Ropuhlic, which was powerful at sea and in Groece, and eurished hy many large islands,¹ which wore ia her possession, meeting with any slight dofeat, what ohstaclo would remain to the Tark, to proveat him attacking Italy, as was afterwards shown in the capturo of Otranto.²

¹ Rhodes, Cyprus, etc.

² Otranto was taken by the Turks in 1480, under Achmet Pasha, who

But what gave them greater disgust and anxiety of mind was, that the Turk knowing the importance of keeping this Republic friendly, sought for peace; and the senators saw that after the other Powers had been beaten by his arms, they themselves his allies, would remain an easy prey to the conquerors. Now, while they found themselves in this dilemma, four ambassadors sent by Ussun Cassano, arrived at Venice,—namely, Azimamet, Morat, Nicolo and Chefarsa, venerable men, and of great authority with the king, who, with many proffers from their master, offered to make a league and an honorable alliance against the Turk and against the Soldan, provided the Venetians would not fail with their fleet to attack both powers. These (Venetians) being delighted to have the greatest and most powerful king of the East as their confederate and ally in this war, accepted the offer, and professed to have always been good friends with the king, and assured him that this war would be more agreeable to them than ever so many others they had waged.

And thus, Azimamet remaining at Venice, the other three passed on to the Pope and to the King of Naples to excite, if possible, both of these powers to enter the league. Hence the Senate thought proper to elect an ambassador to reside at the Court of the King Ussun Cassano; as much to be ready to inflame and excite him to take up arms for the common offence and defence as to represent the grandeur and dignity of the Republic. Therefore, M. Francesco Michelo was first elected, who refused; then the senators elected M. Giacomo da Mczo, who also would not accept this charge. At last, in the year 1471, M. Caterino Zeno was elected, who cheerfully undertook the journey moved only by zeal

embarked at Vallona in Macedonia, and ravaged a great part of Apulia; but, being called away to join Mahomet in his wars in Asia, the Turkish garrison, after holding the place for a year, surrendered at discretion to Alfonso, Duke of Calabria.—Knolles, *Hist. of the Turks*, p. 433.

for the holy faith. He was the son of M. Dragon Zeno, who died at Damascus, having been many years before as far as Bassera,¹ to Mecca and to Persia; therefore, M. Caterino had some acquaintance with those regions, and from the knowledge that he was nephew of the Queen Dospina, wife of Ussun Cassano, considered himself alone fitted to serve his country well and efficiently in this embassy. But, because this journey was unknown, long, and full of dangers, and there was no one to be found to go with M. Caterino, our Government, not wishing to desist from the enterprise, and perceiving this difficulty, provided more pay and better provisions for those attendants who would go with him, by which means they procured some valiant men, accustomed to all kinds of hardships, who, induced by the high salary, and by a desire to see the world, gladly entered his service. By this means M. Caterino was despatched on the 6th June of the same year that he was elected, with a commission to Ussun Cassano, our Government offering to arm one hundred galleys and many other large and small ships, and with them to attack the empire of the Turk from the sea, if he from the East would not fail to press them with all his forces. With these commissions M. Caterino left Venice, arrived at Rhodes in a few months, and thence having entered the country of the Caramanians, with much difficulty reached Persia. I cannot give the particulars of his journey, because, as I mentioned above, I could never, with all my research, get his book that was printed, into my hands.

M. Caterino, having arrived at the Court of Ussun Cassano,² was received by him with great rejoicing and honour, as the ambassador of a Republic so illustrious and power-

¹ Bussora, or Basra, was founded by Omar in 636; has a population of sixty thousand at the present time. It is situated on the western bank of the Shat-ul-Arab and seventy miles from its mouth, with an immense trade. It was conquered by the Turks in 1668.

² At Tauris, or Tabreez. See *Travels of a Merchant*, cap. 7.

ful, his new confodsratc end ally; then, efter having visited the king, he asked to be allowed to visit the Queen Despina. This metter, as it was not the custom to grant it to eny of the Persians, was refused, it heing ths hahit among them for the ladies not to allow themselves to hs seen by eny one, and thoy consider heing seen as bad as if among us a person committed adultery.

Therefore, while they walk about the cities and the fortresses, or ride with their husbands to the war, in the following of the king, they cover their faces with nets woven of horsehair,¹ so thick that they can easily see othsrs, hut cannot be scen by them. Nevertheless, M. Caterino, hy the spscinl permission of tho king, wes allowed to visit her in the neme of the Repnhlic. Tben, being taken into the presence of the queen, and she heing informed who hs was, he wee welcomed and received by her with the greatest favonr es a dear nephew end relation, asking him with great instance if ell her nephews were alive, and in whet condition thsy were. M. Ceterino replied with greet pleasure, and geve satisfactory answers to ell her qnsstions. Afterwards, when he wished to return to his lodging, shs would not hear of it, but kept him in her pelace, giving him separate apart-ments for himself and suite, nd presenting him every day (e thing which is considercd very honourable frem the King of Persia) with the semo victuals, which wore put before their majssties. And then, having heard more particularly the reason of his coming, sho promised him all her influence, and showing herself friendly towards our illustrious Govern-ment. And in reality this queen was instrnmontal, through M. Caterino, in inducing Ussun Cassano to declare war against the Turk. Nor can one deny that through ths relationship M. Caterino had with Despine, he ettainsd to such favour and intimacy with Ussun Cassano, that ho even went in end out of the private apartments of the king and qneen at

¹ This covering, called Peychar, is now only used in Bagdad.

whatever time and honr ho pleased, and what ie still more extraordinary, even when both their majesties were in bed ; which I do not think any other Mahometan or Christian king ever granted, even to their nearest relations. This Despina was the most religione lady in the world, always remained a good Christian, and every day had mass eolemnly cclebrated in the Greek manncr, which she attended with much devotion. Nor did her husband, although he was of a different faith and an enemy of her own, ever say one word to her about it, or persuade her to change her religion ; certainly it is ourious that the one bore so mnch with the other, and that there was so mnch love and affection betweon them. Nor did M. Caterino fail, after eeing this good Christian, to incite her to persnade her husband to wage a etubborn war with the Turks, bitter enemies of all the Christians and most particularly hostile to her and to her race, as they had elain her father,¹ and taken away his realm. Prevailed on by these arguments, the queen did so much and said so mnch to her husband, that he who was of himself much inclined to humble the greatness of the Ottoman power, wrote with his own hand orders to the King of Gorgora, Lord of the Georgians, to commence war with the Turks in that quarter. And Dcspina, while her husband was engagod in this project and was collecting troops, hrriedly dispatched M. Caterino's chaplain, with lettore written by her own hand to the most Illustrioue Government and all hor relations.

But the spring having passed, and there being no news of the preparatione which M. Caterino said our Republic was making to attack the Ottoman, tho king began to loso hope and to give less credit to him than before. On this account, having in readiness a magnificent army, he thought of leading it against eome Tartar chiose, his enemies. But our Republic, which did not fail to eend messagee and lettore, to

¹ David, last Emperor of Trebizond, was Despina's uncle. Her father had died before.

keep him acquainted with affairs and to confirm him in his knowledge, that the Venetians would never fail in what they had promised, on the 6th of January, twenty months after the departure of M. Caterino, elected M. Giosafat Barbaro ambassador to Persia, and sent with him several gifts to the king, which were six immense siege guns, arquebuses, and field-pieces in great number, powder, and other munitions of war; six bombardiers, one hundred arquebusiers, and other men skilled in artillery. And, on the other hand, they made a captain-general of the sea, and sent him with a great fleet to the coasts of Caramania, where, having arrived, and after waging some minor battles with the enemy, he took some castles which the Turks had occupied, giving them over to the generals of the Caramanian prince.¹ This chief, for having given a passage to M. Caterino, was unexpectedly attacked by the Turk, and deprived of his power;² having left several fortresses well garrisoned with men and munitions, he fled to Ussun Cassano, by whom he was graciously received, and given hopes of being reinstated, provided those fortresses, which he said still held for him, remained in his allegiance. But hope, which often disappoints the desires of men, now disappointed the Caramanian; since the captains who had charge of these strong places, corrupted by Turkish gold, although with the dishonoured name of traitors to their sovereign, gave up the fortresses in their possession, to the enemy. Having made this acquisition, Mahomet sent ambassadors from Constantinople to Persia, to excuse himself to Ussun Cassano for what he had done, and to confirm an honorable peace and friendship with him.

But very early on the day they were to have had an audience of the king, M. Caterino entered his room, and spoke to him with such convincing arguments, that, being

¹ Peer Ahmed, who was afterwards defeated and killed in 1486 by Bajazet II, for having aided his brother Zizim in his revolt. See Knolles, *Hist. of the Turks*, p. 446.

² See Angiolotto, cap. 2.

hacked up by Despina and by pity for the Caramanian monarch exiled from his home, and who, having come into his presence, supplicated, and entreated him not to abandon him in his adversity, the ambassadors were dismissed without ceremony. And having given immediate orders for war, he put his army in readiness; and he himself having arrived in great haste at the city of Bitlis,¹ sent for M. Caterino, and said that he wished him to come with him to his army that he might see with what promptitude he had undertaken the war, partly for his own sake and for the safety of the kingdom of Persia, and partly incited by our Republic, and by the recent injury done to the Caramanian lord, his friend and ally, whom he could not desert, as he had thrown himself altogether into his hands.

These things M. Caterino heard with great delight, and thanked him with many words for the affection he had for our most illustrious Government, and joining one of his captains, called Amarhei Ginsultan Nichenizza, went to make a muster of the king's warriors, who, as he writes in a private letter, were one hundred thousand horse, reckoning attendants, who accompanied their masters; some of them and their horses armed after the manner of Italy, and some covered with strong, thick hides, able to save the wearer from any heavy blow. Others were clothed in fine silk with doublets quilted so thickly that they could not be pierced by arrows. Others had gilt cuirasses and coats of mail, with so many weapons of offence and defence, that it was a marvel to behold how well and skilfully they bore themselves in arms.² Their servants also were excellently

¹ Bitlis. See p. 8.

² Kinneir, speaking of the Persian soldiery, says:—"What is denominated the standing army of the empire consists of the king's body-guard, which amounts to about ten thousand men, and the Gholauns or royal slaves, in number about three thousand. The former are a kind of militia, which are obliged to have their habitations in the capital or its vicinity, and are liable to be called out at a moment's warn-

mounted, with cuirasses of polished iron and in place of bucklers which our people use, they have round shields, with which they cover themselves, and make use of the keenest scimitars in battle; the masters made a total of ing: the latter are in constant attendance upon his majesty and more feared and respected than any other troops in his service. But it is the numbers and bravery of the wandering tribes which constitute the military force of the Persian empire. When the sovereign is desirous of assembling an army, the chiefs of the different tribes are commanded to send to the royal camp a number of men proportionate to the power and strength of his tribe: each town and village is also under the necessity of furnishing its quota. The army thus assembled, is consequently entirely irregular, chiefly consisting of cavalry; and, as they seldom receive either clothing or pay, only kept together by the hope of plunder. The present king, as an extreme effort, might probably in this manner be able to collect together a force of a hundred and fifty thousand or perhaps two hundred thousand men. To their cavalry, which is excellent, the rulers of Persia have hitherto, with success, solely entrusted the defence of their dominions. Their arms are a scimitar, a brace of pistols, a carbine, and sometimes a lance, or a bow and arrow—all of which they alternately use, at full speed, with the utmost skill and dexterity. The pistols are either stuck in the girdle or in the holsters of the saddle; the carbine or bow is slung across the shoulder; and the lance, which is light and shafted with bamboo, is wielded in the right hand. There is one great defect inherent in the constitution of their cavalry—a defect which cannot fail of proving highly detrimental to its success in the field, and of repressing the natural impetuosity and courage of the troops. His arms and horse in general belong not to the public, but to the individual; his whole property is often vested in these articles; and, as he receives no compensation in the event of losing them, his whole attention is naturally turned towards their preservation. This single circumstance, as must be obvious, may often be productive of the most disastrous consequences, and has, on more than one occasion, proved fatal to the honour and reputation of the Persian arms. They are not so gaudy in the trappings of their horses as the Turks; their saddles and bridles are more adapted for use than show; and the Arabian bit and stirrup were thrown aside by the orders of Nadir Shah for a plain snaffle and light iron stirrup. The saddle also is much more light than that in use among the Turks or Mamelukes, but somewhat too short in the seat, and inconvenient to a person who has not been accustomed to it. They ride with very short stirrups; but have, notwithstanding, a wonderful command over their horses, and can stop them in an instant in the midst of their career. Their cavalry, like all irregular horse, are incapable of acting in unison or of making any serious impression on

forty thousand men, all brave soldiers, and their servants sixty thousand, and finer cavalry were never seen in any army: the men were tall and very muscular, and very dexterous in wielding their weapons, so that it is reported that a small troop of them would have routed ever so great a squadron of the enemy. The master being completed, he made forced marches with the whole army towards the country of the enemy, and with him went Piramete,¹ the Caramanian chief, and all the king's sons who were valiant young men. And M. Caterino, who also wished to be with them, went to bid adieu to the Queen Despina; but the army marched ahead with such speed that he could not re-

a body of troops disciplined in the European fashion: but, as their evolutions and movements are extremely rapid and each individual is aware of the part he ought to act, they are nearly as formidable when broken and dispersed as when united. The Persian armies, as I have said before, receive no regular pay, and are only kept together by the hope of plunder; we therefore find, that it is considered an incumbent on the king to take the field once a year, either against the Russians, Affghans, or Turkomans, his immediate neighbours. They know nothing of the modern science of war, being entirely ignorant of the principles of fortification and of the arts of attack and defence. The field artillery is chiefly composed of zumharocks or small swivels, mounted on, and fired from, the backs of camels. There are also small field-pieces attached to the army; but the roads on the frontier are but ill adapted for the transportation of cannon, and as the carriages are of a miserable construction, they are either broken by the rocks and precipices, or go to pieces after firing a few rounds. Another great defect in the organisation of the armies of this country is the total want of good officers, and therefore of a proper degree of subordination. Without able and experienced men to direct and command, and a regular system of payment, it is next to impossible that an army can arrive at anything like perfection. There is no separation of the civil from the military authorities. The troops are commanded by the chiefs of their own tribes, who are jealous of each other, and therefore not likely to act in concert or yield that obedience so absolutely necessary in military affairs. In the absence of the King and Prince, the Grand Vizier is the general-in-chief; and, as he is not unfrequently raised to that dignity from offices entirely civil, the army may be commanded by a man who has never witnessed an engagement."

¹ Peer Ahmed. See p. 15.

join it, and therefore was much disgusted. Going on his way with a squadron of five hundred horse he was attacked in Giauas¹ by the people of the country, who caused them much loss; thns, having lost msny soldiers, and having suffered several other inconveniences, he turned towards Tocat, and led them at last to the city of Carpeto,² where he heard, to his grot comfort, that Ussnn Cassano was soon to arrive. The Persian army entered Giauas in the month of Septomber, and carried fire and sword throngh the contry far and near, plundering and cutting people to pieces, to the great terror of the inhabitants, so that every one fled before this tempest. And passing Arsenga³ and Tocat, he burnt the towns nd villages everywhere with the same fury, and assanlted and took Carle, which belonged to the Caramanian.

Mustafà, the son of the Turk, who, with Acomat Pasha, was in Lnlla, a city of Caramania, being alarmed at this, fled towards Cegno:⁴ and removing his mother, sent her to Saibcacerascar,⁵ four days' journoy in the interior, towards Constantinople. But the Persians coming towards Cogno, the Turk wrote letters to his son that he should retreat, and not rashly seek to come to hlow with the enemy, because any little victory would raise their courage, and make them attempt anything. On account of these letters Mustafà, who knew that his father was right, retired to Cuiteia,⁶ where he found Daut⁷ Pasha, Beglerbeg of Natolia, making great assemblies of people of war. The Grand Turk then did not

¹ Gerjannes, a district of Erzingan.

² Kharput, in the Valley of Sophene, as it was called by the ancients. See *Travels of a Merchant.*

³ Erzingan. See p. 7.

⁴ Konieh (Iconium). Konieh, a city of Asia Minor, with a population of thirty thousand, employed mostly in the manufacture of carpets; it was a capital of the Seljook Sultana.

⁵ Ofium Kara Missar, a town of fifty thousand inhabitants, two hundred miles from Smyrna, where opium is raised in great quantities.

⁶ Kutaieh.

⁷ Daood.

think it right to linger last his men, missing his presence, might lose spirit and allow the enemy boldly to enter the country and to capture the strongholds. On this account, having passed into Asia with his whole court, he expected soon to encounter Ussnu Cassano with the Persian army. But having heard from his spies that the disturbances in those provinces arose from a captain of Ussun Cassano's, who, with forty thousand horse, went plundering, burning, and slaughering, and who just then was marching towards Bursia¹ to burn it (the king having remained behind with the rest of the army), the Turk despatched Mustafà with sixty thousand of the best cavalry of the army, who moved by forced marches towards the enemy, desirous of encountering them and of putting a stop to such devastation. The Persian army being warned of this, commanded a retreat, knowing themselves to be much inferior in number to the enemy; and, as they were loaded with booty and made slow progress, four thousand Turks who pursued at great speed under Armant,² came up with them and at once attacked, when the Persians, beginning to fight bravely, pressed them hard, and routed them in a moment, and cut to pieces two thousand Turks with their leader Armant. Scarcely was this action over when Mustafà arrived with the rest of his men, who, closing in one squadron, attacked the Persians fiercely; while the latter, on their side, resisted not less courageously. Both parties bore themselves bravely for many hours, and it is thought that anyhow the victory would have been on the side of the Persians, if they had not first fought with those four thousand horse, since Mustafà, who came up with fresh men, found them fatigued with that battle and with the journey, and thus remained the conqueror, although with great loss on his side.³ The number

¹ Boorsa.

² Amurath.

³ This, according to Knolles, was a Persian victory, Mustafa being forced to fly.—*History of the Turks*, p. 410. See below, p. 25.

of the slain is not given in the letters from which this history is taken ; it is only mentioned that Usufcan,¹ the general of Ussun Cassano, was taken prisoner by the Turks, and that Pirameto,² the Caramanian Prince, fled and saved himself with a great part of the army. The whole of the succeeding winter the king and the Turk busied themselves in making fresh preparations for war, that they might in the spring again confront each other.

And Ussun Cassano, in the beginning of the summer, took the field with his army, and having captured some of the spies of the Turk, commanded their hands to be cut off and hung round their necks, and that they should be sent back to the Ottoman in this manner.

At this very time arrived letters for M. Caterino, written by M. Pietro Mocenigo, who was afterwards Doge, then Captain-General of the Sea, and M. Giosafat Barbaro³ giving him intelligence, both of the presents which our most Illustrious Government was sending to the king, and of the arrival of the fleet on the coast of Caramania. And above all, he heard with great satisfaction of the castles which they had taken and restored to the generals of the Caramanian Prince ; these letters filled Ussun Cassano with such joy and hope, that he ordered the news to be spread through the whole army, and commanded as a greater token of affection and honour towards our Republic, that at the sound of the trumpet, and Zamblacare,⁴ the Venetian name should be lauded and saluted, and such was the din, that the noise might be heard at several miles' distance.

The Turk also having made greater exertions than before, passed into Asia, and shut himself up in Amasia, a city of Cappadocia, which was the Sangiacato⁵ of his son Bajazet,⁶

¹ Yusuf Khan.

² Peer Ahmed.

³ M. Josafat Barbaro's account of his travels is in Ramusio's Collection.

⁴ Zumburka.

⁵ Sanjak.

⁶ Afterwards Bajazet II, reigned from 1481-1512.

who together with Mnstafā, went with his father to this war, Gien,¹ his third son, remaining in Constantinople. And since the difficulty of leading armies into Persia consists in supplying provisions, it being the custom of the Persians to desolate the country for fifteen or twenty days' journey on the side on which they expect an invasion; so that, whoever, in attacking Persia, does not go well provided with necessaries, either dies of hunger on the road, has to retire much to his dishonor, or else becomes a prey to the enemy. Mahomet, who had deliberated well about this with his people, after having made a good provision of victuals, divided all his army into five columns.

The first he led in person, in which, with the corps of Janissarios, were thirty thousand soldiers—the flower of the Turkish nation, so to speak.

The second, of another thirty thousand, Bajazet commanded.

Mnstafā led the third, also of thirty thousand, including twelve thousand Wallachians, led by Basaraha, their captain, who came to the aid of the Turks in this war.

The fourth was under Asmnrat Palæologns, a Turk, Beglerbeg of Romania, numbering sixty thousand men, among whom were many of his Christian subjects.

The fifth was under Daut, Beglerbeg of Natolia, of forty thousand men. There were besides, the Acangi,² volunteer cavalry, with their chief, to the number of thirty thousand. These traversed the country thirty, forty, and fifty miles before the Turkish armies, plundered, burnt, and slaughtered whatever they found before them. They are most valiant in person, and it is their duty to bring provisions to the camp.

With this immenso army the Turk started from Amasia,

¹ The unfortunate Djim-Zizim, or Zemes, who, being defeated by Bajazet in his struggle for empire, fled first to Egypt and then to Rhodes. He was sent to Rome to the Pope Innocent VIII, but was poisoned at the instigation of the infamous Alexander Borgia, who had been forced to give him up to Charles VIII of France.

² Ikindjis.

and having with him several large pieces of artillery, took the road to Tocat in capital order, and leaving on the left the town of Siuas¹ on the river Lais,² which flows from the mountains of Trebizond, entered a low plain between that city and Mount Taurus. On their way they found Nicheset,³ a very strong Persian castle, which they did not attack, in order not to lose time on the way. Thus marching, they had on the left the city of Coiliutar,⁴ situated among mountains, and surrounded with villages; descending the mountain they halted near the city Carascar,⁵ famous for its mines.

The inhabitants of this place had all fled to the mountains; therefore, without halting, the army proceeded to the city of Argina,⁶ situated in a wide plain. Here they found in a church a philosopher studying with many books around him, and who,⁷ not ceasing to read, in spite of all the noise and uproar they made, was cut to pieces by the Acangian⁸ horsemen. All the other people had fled beyond the Euphrates. Having left this, the Turks passed the country called Arsenga,⁹ which is Lesser Armenia, and approached the Euphrates not far from Malatia,¹⁰ where, on eleven dro-

¹ Siwas, sixty miles from Tokat on the Kizzil Irmak, with manufactures of coarse woollen, etc.

² River Iris, the present Kizzil Irmak.

³ Niksar.

⁴ Koili Hissar, according to Kiepert's Map on the Schonak or Owad-mish Schai, which falls into the Yekyl Irmak. It is a little below Sheh-han Kara Hissar; it is also called Koyunlu Hissar.

⁵ Shebban Kara Hissar, still noted for its alum mines. The castle is built on an isolated mountain about six hundred feet high and three miles in circumference, and is of great natural strength; it has the same contrivance common to most of the old castles for the supply of water during a siege, namely, a staircase excavated in the solid rock. It was probably one of the treasure-cities of Mithridates mentioned by Strabo. The trade in alum has greatly diminished, as it is now exported to Turkish provinces solely.

⁶ Probably Egin on the Euphrates, on the route from Erzingan to Malatia. See Angiolelli, cap. 6.

⁷ Compare the death of Archimedes.

⁸ Ikindjis.

⁹ Erzingan. See p. 7.

¹⁰ Malatia, the ancient Melitene, near the Euphrates or Murad, in lat. N. 30 deg. 26 min., long. E. 38 deg. 27 min.

medaries, there arrived before the sovereign the ambassadors of the Soldan of Cairo to deliver an arrow with a letter on its point, to which an answer was soon given ; and they having remounted their dromedaries departed, getting over a deal of ground in one day, the dromedary being so swift as to travel without intormission further than any other animal. And St. John Chrysostom, upon Matthew, explains the difficult passage as to how the Magians could have come from the East to Judea to worship Christ in such a short space of time, as is mentioned in the Evangelist, by supposing that they came upon dromedaries, which are said to be the fastest animals for a long jorney. Leaving this place the Turkish army marched along the banks of the river towards the north-east, going up against the coarso of the stream, when on the other hank Ussun Cassano presented himself with the wholo Porsian army in array.

In this place the Euphrates, which is an immenso river with very high banks, forms many sandy islands ; so that it is easy to ford it from one side to the other.¹

Ussun Cassano had a magnificent army of Lesdians who are Parthians, of Persians, Georgians, Kards, and Tartars, and the principal captains who led them were Unghermaumot, Calul, aad Ezeinel, his sons, and Pirameto, the Caramaian Prince.² But, although his army was so large, he nevertheless saw that of the Turk as immense, and occupying as large a space of gronnd, a thing which he had not at first believed, from hearsay. He marvelled at it for a time, aad then all astonished, said : " Hai cahesen no dentidor,"³ which in the Persian tongue signifies " Oh, son of a —, what an ocean"; comparing this immonse army to a sea. Then the Tark, who thought that by boldness he might anticipate and check the forces of Ussun Cassano, commanded the Beglerbeg of Ronmania, Asmurat Palæologus, to

¹ This is only in the dry season, as there are no islands, only sandbanks.

² Peer Ahmed.

³ See Angioletto, cap. 7.

cross the river with his men and gain possession of the other bank, which would be an evident defeat for Ussun Cassene and his whole army; and since Palæologus was young and bold, in order that his rashness might not cause some mistake, he joined to him Mehomet Pasha to direct him in any emergency.

He led out an immense squadron to the sound of kettle-drums and other martial instruments, with banners flying, descended into the bed of the river, and crossed from one sand-bank to another. Then Ussun Cassane, irritated by this bold proceeding, sent a powerful force of the flower of his army into the river, where the Persians having joined battle with the Turks, either party without yielding as much as an inch of water or ground, fought bravely for more than three hours continually, while both armies stood on the banks looking on and encouraging. At last, the Turks being repulsed by the Persians with great loss, were routed and driven from the sand-banks; many were drowned in the tumult, being carried away by the stream; and the Persians falling upon them persistently, caused a renewal of the battle more fiercely and cruelly than before; since, in this retreat Palæologus, carried away by the water, was nearly drowned, and the Turks wishing to assist him made desperate head again, regardless of their lives.¹ Thus the assault was renewed so fiercely that no advantage could be discerned on either side; however, the Persians at last obtaining the victory, again broke the enemy, and beat them back with great slaughter, Asmuret² remaining drowned in the water.

¹ This battle took place near Malatia 1473.

² Knolles says that Mustafa, Mahomet the Second's eldest son, and Amurath, Pasha of Roumania (the latter of whom was killed in the battle), commanded the Turks when they were defeated in 1473. He also mentions another battle the next year in which Mahomet was present in person and was defeated, one of his great Pashas being killed. Perhaps two battles were made out of this one, or more probably the battle previously mentioned (p. 20) was a Persian victory.

Mahomet Pasha, who was in array on a neigbouring sand-bank, seeing this, adroitly withdrew to the bank, where, on the arrival of the Persians pursuing the enemy, he a third time made head, and valorously sustained the Persian assault; and thore would have been fiercer fighting than ever if the night had not come on and separated the combatants.

And there is an opinion that the closing in of the day rohhed Ussun Cassano of a great victory; as, if Mahomet Pasha had been beaten, the Persians, to their great honour, would have made themselves masters of the other bank; and, as the Turk in the elevated country could not use his artillery or occupy an open space of ground with his cavalry, he would certainly have become a prey to the enemy; since, in the passage of arms in the river not more than five hundred Persians were killed, and from the Turkish army there were fifteen thousand missing in killed and drowned, and numberless prisoners.

On this account the Turk, harassed by a thousand conjectures, kept his army under arms all the night, fearing an attack. The next day he gave an extra donation to all the troops, liberated the slaves on the condition that they should return with the camp to Constantinople, and having arrayed the army, marched np the river, leaving it near the city of Braibret,¹ which he left on his right hand, across the monntains which separate Greater and Lesser Armenia, which road was towards the north-west in the direction of Trebisond.

The Turks being defeated at the fords of the Euphrates in the manner I have described, Ussun Cassano was incited by his sons and by the whole army to follow on, so as not to lose the fruits of so great a victory; since the Persians, who had proved the force of the enemy, despised them, and expected to come off victorious in every encounter. Thore-

¹ Baibort, on the river Turak or Delchoroch Su, which flows into the Euxine near Batoum. It is situated nearly due north of Erzingan.

fore, the king followed the Turks on the other bank, to see what was their design; but when the Persians saw that they kept away from the Euphrates, they called on Ussun Cassano with great importunity, to cross the river, as they plainly saw the Turk was in flight. He gave way to this, although against his will (as, being a clever, practical, and veteran soldier, he remembered that noble precept of military science, "that one ought to pave the roads with gold and make bridges of silver for a flying enemy"), and acceded to the wishes of his men, to see how so much ardour and longing for battle would succeed. Thus, having chosen forty thousand of his most skilful and daring soldiers, he crossed the Euphrates, and began, with forced marches, to pursue the hostile army, having left Calul, his eldest son, on the other side of the river with all the Georgians, Tartars, and many other soldiers in charge of the baggage. By the end of August he reached the top of some mountains, from the summits of which he saw the Turkish army in the valley leading in the direction of Trehizond. Thinking, from his recent victory, that he could easily overcome them and put them to flight, he arrayed himself for battle.

The Turks, seeing the road closed to them, and knowing that they must either open it sword in hand or, to their great disgrace, be routed and cut to pieces, as happens when inspired by desperation, made a virtue of necessity, and also arrayed themselves with great ardour for the battle.¹ The Turk then having left Ustrofo with a considerable garrison in charge of his camp, set out to scale the mountain on another side, which was not occupied by the Persian troops. Ussun Cassano, seeing them leave the camp, sent Unghermaumet, his son, with a squadron of ten thousand cavalry to oppose Ustrofo, and to cut off all hope of safety from the Turk. And having made three other large divisions, he gave the right wing to Pirameto,² the Carianian

¹ The battle of Tabecada.

² Peer Ahmed.

Prince, and the left to Ezeinel, his son, commanding in person the centre with all the infantry, which was in magnificent condition. And the battle having begun at the fourteenth hour, the action lasted eight hours continuously, the Persians resisting that great army with such valour, that their personal prowess was wonderful to see; and if Mustafà, the son of the Turk, had not attacked with a fresh squadron the right flank of the Caramanian, the victory would have remained uncertain still longer; as, when the Caramanian gave way before the fresh assault of Mustafà, everything was thrown into confusion in that quarter.¹ Thus it was, that in his retreat he disordered the flank of the line of battle of Ussun Cassano, who, on account of the confusion of his troops and the attack of the enemy in front, saw himself so pressed that he was afraid of being surrounded. Therefore, seized with no small fear on account of the uncertainty of affairs, he jumped off his horse and mounted a swift mare, which he always kept ready for such emergencies; and seeing himself pressed more and more every hour and driven in on the right wing, he turned round and fled. His son Ezeinel seeing this, threw himself with great courage into the midst of the infantry and endeavoured to make head, so that the whole army might not be routed by one charge of the enemy; but, however much this gallant young man might sustain the fury of the Turks, being at length killed by them, the Persians were routed and put to flight. Unghermaumet, who had gone to attack the camp of the Turks guarded by Ustrefo, met with great resistance, but nevertheless hoped to have taken it in time; but, seeing the rout of his father, withdrew little by little, and was in great danger of being made prisoner; since, before his retreat, the Turks had occupied all the plain. However, by making great exertions, he escaped and rejoined his father. The

¹ Knolles says that the Turkish artillery did great mischief to the Persians, as in the battle of Schalderan.

latter not considering himself safe in his camp, which was ten miles distant from the field of battle, crossed the Euphrates, and retired with the rest of his men to the interior of his country. This fight took place in the year 1473, in which ten thousand Persians and fourteen thousand Turks fell.

Mahomet, thus remaining conqueror, decided to follow up this good fortune, and in the course of war to make himself master of some place of the enemy's. Therefore, having mustered his army, he marched a second time towards the city of Baibret,¹ and the Acangi² who preceded him were cut to pieces by the people of the country in great numbers. After this feat the inhabitants, warned by scouts, that the Turk was marching up in haste with the rest of his army, fled to the mountains, having, so to speak, given vent to their fury on their enemies. The Turks having arrived at the ford of the river Euphrates, where the first battle had taken place, crossed without any resistance, the Acangi still in advance.

Then marching towards Erseagan,³ they found the country and towns everywhere abandoned; and four days after they reached Carascar,⁴ a fortress posted on the top of a mountain; the Turks preparing to attack it, dragged some pieces of artillery up another mountain⁵ which commanded the fortress, and thence bombaraded it fifteen days continuously. At last a captain named Darap, a vassal of Ezcimel, the son of Ussun Cassano, who was in command, hearing of the death of his master, surrendered it. From Carascar, the army marched to Coliasar,⁶ a city which, not wishing to essay its strength against so daring an enemy, also

¹ Baibort. See p. 5.

² Ikiudjis.

³ Erzingan.

⁴ Sheppan Kara Hissar. See p. 23.

⁵ After crossing the river the Turkish army evidently began to retreat to their own country. Why they went near Malatia is not very evident.

⁶ Koili Hissar. See p. 23. According to Angiolello, it was near Erzingaa that the Turks reached the Euphrates, and only the Acangi crossed on a foraging expedition, which is much more probable.

yielded. At that time news came to the Turk that Ussun Cassano was restoring his army with the design of driving, if possible, the enemy out of the country, and on this account he did not think it right to advance further, that he might not run into dangers from which he might not afterwards be able to extricate himself. Then, having faced about, he returned in great haste to Sevas, and thence to Tocat,¹ where was the ambassador of the King of Hungary, whom he had cajoled with many dissuading words in this way, saying to him that he wished first to free himself from the war with Persia, and that he would then conclude a peace with his king who was in treaty for one. All this he did with the object in this crisis not to be molested by the Hungarian arms. But after his victory he dismissed him without any conclusion of the affair, by which artifice the Hungarian king was deceived, to his great hurt and to that of all Christendom; as there is little reason to doubt that if he had availed himself of this opportunity, he would, even with very small forces, have driven the Turks from Greece, and also have terrified the whole of Asia.

And the Persian war having been concluded in the manner narrated above, the Turk returned in great triumph to Constantinople, leaving Mustafa in his Sangiacato,² where he soon afterwards died. And Acomat³ Pasha went with a large army towards Laranto, a city of the Caramanian monarch, situated near Mount Taurus, where, pretending to have peaceable intentions towards the inhabitants, he gradually gained over the chiefs by inviting now this one and now that, with courtesy and familiarity, to eat with him. By using these arts for some time, so as to rid them of all suspicion of him and of the army, he fixed a certain day for his departure, before which he made a solemn feast for all those

¹ Tocat, fifty-six miles from Sivas, with a population of forty thousand, and a very extensive trade.

² Sanjak.

³ Achmet.

lords, who, while they were eating and drinking merrily with him, were made prisoners by some of his men told off for the purpose, and strangled in some secret places; then, having entered the mountainous country without difficulty, he took away the people and sent them to Greece, putting others in their stead to inhabit the country. While these things came to pass in the Caramanian dominions, Ussun Cassane, who had had in a short space of time, first the best fortune and then the most adverse he had ever experienced, feigned himself in great distress of mind on account of his recent defeat; as the reputation of being invincible, which he had acquired in so many wars, seemed to disappear at one blow. For this reason, having at his court two ambassadors—one a Pole and the other an Hungariaan—he dismissed them both, that they might not witness his misery, and, by so doing, increase it.¹

And as his greatest hope was in the Christian princes, and as he saw that they had the same interests as himself, he despatched M. Caterino with letters written to all the kings of Europe, to beg assistance of them, urging the danger that both parties ran, and that he had taken up arms against the Ottoman, principally at the instigation of our Republic and the other Christian powers.

And thus all these ambassadors, setting out in company from the king, passed into Georgia; and M. Caterino having left the other two to continue their journey, arrived at Salvatopole on the Greater Sea, whence he crossed to Cafa² in a ship of Lugi da Pozzo, a Genoese; who, having heard on the voyage that he was ambassador to Ussun Cassano, wished to take him to Constantinople to the Turks, as Cafa obeyed

¹ It seems that the other Christian princes were not altogether so blind to the advantages of a Persian alliance as the Venetian writer would have us think.

² Caffa, anciently called Theodosia, situated in the Crimea, and then belonging to the Genoese, was a rich and busy port. It was subdued, with the rest of the Crimea, by Achmet Pasha in 1476.

the latter and paid tribute. Therefore, they sent a proclamation under severe penalties, that no one should lodge, receive, or assist him in any way. However, Andrea Scarnelli, an honest citizen of our Republic, without thinking of the penalties he would incur, esteeming the favour of our Government more than life or fortune, came alongside the ship secretly by night in a boat, and having told him wherefore he was come, took him off and brought him safely to land, hiding him in his house. M. Caterino not finding any money here was in great difficulty about his affairs, when a servant of his, named Martin, persuaded him with many words to sell him by auction, and to use the money. M. Caterino, although he admired the peculiar liberality and fidelity of Martin, still pressed by the want in which he found himself, had him sold, as he proposed, by auction, making use of the money he got for the sale: a rare example of a faithful servant, and worthy of being compared with any other in ancient times, when they say there were such devoted servants, that they would offer to be killed to save the lives of their masters. Nor did our Republic fail to recognise such a service done to so worthy a citizen, as, in addition to his ransom, they gave him a pension, on which he lived: an example for others to see of what value it is to serve the State faithfully.

From Cafa M. Caterino wrote letters to the most Illustrious Government, narrating in them all the events of the two recent battles, and how Ussun Cassano had despatched him with secret commissions to all the kings of Europe, to incite them to wage war with spirit against the common enemy, as he intended in the beginning of spring to take the field with all the forces of Persia, and to try afresh the fortune of battle. These letters were most acceptable to the Government on account of their news, none of which had yet reached them from any other source. But, hearing that M. Giosafat Barbaro had not yet arrived in

Persia, according to the commission he received when he accepted the embassy, they did not think it was consistent with their dignity to leave a most friendly king, and one most constant to his word, without an ambassador, now that M. Caterino had left him. For this reason, on the 10th September, in the year 1473, the Senate elected M. Ambrosio Contarini as ambassador to Persia, who set out on the 13th of February, as is narrated in his travels. This man, also going through Germany and Poland on the way to Cafa, at last crossed into Persia, where he found M. Giosafat Barbaro already arrived, but was not very well received by the king,—perhaps, because he had found in our other rulers promises and words enough, but few deeds. Our Republic had always kept inviolate all it had promised him, and was again most ready to join him in the same risks. Perhaps, also, because he found his soldiery inferior in strength to the Turkish, as it was not paid, but served the king in war when called out.¹ For this reason, he dismissed him with general words of being willing at some future time to wage war against the enemy; and, on his refusing to return, saying that that was not his commission from the Republic, compelled him by force to leave with another ambassador—the Duke of Burgundy's; and, M. Ambrosio being indignant with this king, on account of this slight, tried with many words to lower his reputation. M. Caterino, in the meanwhile, with the aid of S. Michele Aman, after having suffered many fatigues and gone through many great dangers, went to Poland, and found the King Casimir² waging a desperate war with the Hungarian king. Notwithstanding this, M. Caterino announced his mission from Ussun Cassano, and treated him, in consideration of the great danger to Christendom, if after the conquest of the mighty sovereigns

¹ See note, p. 16.

² Casimir IV reigned from 1447 to 1492. He defeated the Teutonic knights and also the Hungarians.

of the East, Mahomet were to turn his arms towards the West, to make an alliance with this king, and to harass the enemy on his side, as he also would do on the East.

The king heard him graciously, and replied that, on account of the war with Hungary, he could not fight against the Turks with whom he was in league. M. Caterino perceiving from this answer the disposition of this monarch, and that he would not be able to get either ambassadors or a letter written to Ussun Cassano, exhorted him in a long speech to make peace with the Hungarians, saying that since he would not make war on the Turks, at least he ought not to be the reason of Hungary's not doing her duty by Christendom in this crisis, as she had been accustomed to do in so many other wars with the very same enemy; and so efficacious were his words, that Casimir having given an audience to the Hungarian ambassadors concluded and ratified a peace in three days.

While M. Caterino was in Poland he found M. Paolo Ognibene, who was going as Nuncio from our most Illustrious Government to Ussun Cassano, and gave him letters written to the king, full of encouragement and warm words, exhorting him to persevere boldly in the war he had begun, as, then at any rate, he would be seconded by the Christian princes, when they saw him really begin to act against the Ottoman; and that he himself would not fail by importunity, and all the pains in his power, to express all his commissions to the Europeans from him. With these letters he also wrote in the same tenor to the King of Gorgora and to Melico, King of Mingrelia; and having bidden Ognibene God speed, he set out for Hungary. Being honourably received there by the King Matthias Corvinus,¹ who was the most illustrious sovereign in arms and learning, not only of the Hungarians, but also of all the kings of Christendom, he disengaged

¹ Matthias Corvinus, son of the Great Huniades, the champion of Christendom against the Turks, reigned from 1458 to 1490.

to him so powerfully about the commissions he had from Ussun Cassano, that the king, who was of himself much inclined to go to war with the Turks, promised that he would never fail a king who deserved so much from the Christian commonwealth. Then, having conversed more intimately with M. Caterino, and having recognised his valour and virtue, he dethroned him knight with many honours, as may be seen in the special grant made at Buda on the 20th April, 1474, in which are related all his works and exertions in this enterprise.

M. Caterino left Hungary and came to Venice, where, as he had been in such distant regions, and as no Venetian in the memory of man had been a longer or more memorable journey in the service of his country, he was received by all the nobility and people with great acclamations, and his relations in particular looked upon him as a god come down from heaven. The Senate having afterwards heard the commissions of Ussun Cassano and the goodwill he had towards our Republic, elected four ambassadors to the Pope and the King of Naples, and sent with them M. Caterino as ambassador of the King of Persia, who was to take precedence of the others. They were despatched by the Senate on the 22nd of August, in the year one thousand four hundred and seventy-four. These embassies, however, produced no good effect, since, at that time, on account of the bitter discords existing among our princes, it seemed that a certain fatal jealousy prevented them from taking up arms with so great and valorous a king, and one who, moreover, had just exposed himself and his kingdom to the sport of Fortune, in order to show that he had this enterprise at heart against an enemy, who evidently aspired to make himself master of the world.

And before the departure of these ambassadors they wrote to M. Giosafat Barbaro, who was in Cyprus, that he should proceed to Ussun Cassano and not render his mission use-

less, as he had spent so long a time between Venico and the coast of Caramania (since, having been elected in the Senate on the 5th of January, 1471, he set out after having received this letter, which was written on the last day of January, 1473). Wherefore, having laid aside all care for his life, he at last set out for his destination to serve his country, and thus after having gone through many dangers he arrived at Tauris in the presence of Ussun Cassano, as he relates in his travels, in the year one thousand four hundred and seventy-four, where he was welcomed and favourably received by that sovereign. And this same M. Giosafat writes that he found him in the height of his grandeur and reputation, as at that time the Indian ambassadors, who were accustomed every year to bring certain gifts in sign of submission, were received with the greatest pomp. But the war which broke out between him and Unghermanmet, his valiant son, was the occasion of taking from him all his reputation and of blunting the forces of his mind, which till that time had been considered invincible; so that on account of the grief he felt for the rebellion of so gallant a son, and one so famous for his prowess in Asia and Europe, he had to give up all the duties of a king, and more particularly to cast away all thought of the enterprise against the Ottoman.

The reason of this war between father and son was, that the Kurds, people of the mountains, being envious of Ussun Cassano and the grandeur of the Persian kingdom, in order to sow the seeds of discord in the midst of peace in that realm, spread a report around that Ussun Cassano was dead, to which rumour Unghermanmet gave ear readily, as after the death of his father he aspired to the throne of Persia. Thus, having collected the army his father had given him to guard Bagdad,¹ which was formerly Bahylonia, and all the country of Biarbera,² he immediately seized Seras,³ a city on the confines of Persia, gaining over almost all the Kurds

¹ Bagdad.

² Diarbekr.

³ Shiraz.

to his party, as they, when they heard that Unghermaumet had made himself master of Seras, came together in great numhere and traversed and plundered the country up to Tanris. Hence Ussun Cassano took the field with the "porta", that ie, the standing army, which he always kept as a guard about his person, and marched in great haste towards Seras. Unghermaumet being terrified at this, as he had already discovered the falsehood of the Kurds, and that his credulity had made him rashly endeavour, by force of arms, to complete a matter of such importance, left the territory, and by means of some chiefs, friendly both to him and to his father, tried to obtain forgiveness from him for his fault; but, hearing that Ussuu Cassano was coming with a mind emhittered against him, he considered that he had made a mistake, and therefore became apprehensive of being betrayed and losing hie life. And his imagination coloured it so highly, that without even confronting the troops of his father, he fled, and reached the country of the Ottoman on the froutiere of the Sangiacato¹ of Bajazet, son of the Grand Turk, from whom with the consent of the latter, he obtained a safe conduct to allow him to seek an asylum under Turkish protection ; and having sent his wife and sons to Amasia,² to give more assurance to Bajazet, he also rode in his direction, and was welcomed and greatly honoured by that princ. And since this gallant young man could not endure being thus, so to speak, deserted by fortune, desirous of trying his chause (which, as is said, often changes ahont from trouhlous to the most prosperous, provided one does not fail in duty to oneself), he passed on to Constantinople to incito, if possihle, Mahomet, the Grand Turk, to give him some assistance, and was received with the greatest demonstrations of love and

¹ Sanjak.

² Amasia, the birthplace of Strabo and Mithridates, is now an important town with thirty thousand inhabitants and great trade in silk, situated on the Yekyl Irmak.

many promises, as Mahomet was a man of valour, and admired nobleness and bravery in illustrious men more than any of his predecessors among the Ottoman princes. Nor were his deeds less than his words, since Mahomet, wishing to take away Ussun Cassano's fame and reputation, and to gain such a friend that for the future the Persian arms might not oppose him in his full career of conquest, thought that he would do much for his advantage by assisting Unghermaomet in this enterprise, and by these discords between father and son exhaust the force of Persia, in order that in later times, either he or his descendants might subdue that country.

Unghermaomet having obtained these Turkish auxiliaries, entered the province of Sanga, on the confines of Persia, and thence damaged the country of his father by frequent incursions; the latter, although he sent several bands of cavalry and infantry to those frontiers to repulse his son who was thus at war with him, did not seem to wish to revenge himself for so many injuries, as both in public and in private he gave out that he felt such grief on this account, and so after a little feigned to have fallen ill, and gradually retiring with those he had most faith in, either on account of benefits he had done them or otherwise, caused it to be rumoured in Persia and Turkey that he was very ill, and at last published abroad his death through the same people. Hence letters and messages were quickly sent to Unghermaomet, furnishing him with information of the death of his father and the requests of the principal nobles of the kingdom to come in haste in order that his other brothers, namely, Calul and Giacuppo,¹ might not by chance take away his kingdom, which of right belonged to him, on account of his great valour, rather than to them; and, in order to hide the deceit better, they celebrated the obsequies of the dead king with great pomp in the city.

¹ Yakoub, who succeeded Ussun Cassano in 1478.

Thns the unfortunate Unghermanmet, who was led by his fate by the hair of his head to die, not recollecting that his too great credulity had already driven him from his home and exiled him to seek assistance from his enemies who favoured him outwardly, in order to gain a better opportunity for themselves to profit by his still lower fall, gavo full credence to the matter, and having given the messages brought to him in charge to some of his people set out for Persia in such hasto that in a few days he reached Tauris. Here, having sought out those who had written to him of the death of his fathor and given him hopes of gaining the kingdom, he was eouducted by them to whrre his father was with such secreey, that tho nnhappy wretch did not discover it till he found himself face to face with him; and being then received with severe words and threats, he was put in prison, and soon afterwards murdored. This was tho end of Unghermaumet who, ou account of his great courage, was always called by tho Persians "The Valiant": a man without doubt most excellent in arms and worthy of his fathor'a kingdom, if, attracted by the lust of power, he had not been so hasty of belief; as, if he had lived longer, tho kiugdom of Persia would have gained greatly in glory from him, and would have rison to greater fame than it afterwards did under Ismail, his nephew; nor after his death was Persia again molested by tho Turks; nor did Ussun Cassano do anything remarkable until his docease.

And M. Caterino, also, after he had completed all tho missions he had undertaken by tho command of Ussun Cas-sano and of our Repuhlie returned to Venice so well thought of and welcomed by all tho nobles as well as people, that on aecount of the universal favour he was held in, all turned their oyes towards him, beholding a man who, through great dangers, had compassed not only Europe, but also a great part of Asia. And, as an example of the favour he was held in, at his election to tho Council of Ten, what is most singu-

lar and a great honour in our Republic, he had only seventeen adverse votes in the great Council. But what is still more extraordinary is, that when he used to walk in the street, so many persons ran together to see him, that he could hardly proceed.

And thus it is true what is said, that the path of glory is narrow and difficult, and like Hercules¹ mentioned by Xenophon, who chose rather to become famous through great trials, than live at ease without a name in the world, the good M. Caterino, to serve his country, and to gain an honourable fame, never thought of dangers and difficulties; whence one may for certain conclude that sham honours paid by the common people are but dust and ashes in comparison with those meritoriously gained by a man's own exertions.

¹ It was Achilles, not Hercules, who is said to have preferred a short and famous career to a long life of inglorious ease.

SECOND BOOK.

KNOWING well how universally people enjoy novelty in things, and above all, how acceptable an account of the deeds of illustrious kings is to those who are versed in history, I have thought fit to add to the above narration a short account of the other Persian wars which took place after the death of Ussun Cassano. From these few particulars they may see what wonderful things might be written about these kings if, in addition to civilisation in manners and valour in arms, they had a literature¹ to collect an account of their actions and hand them down to the admiration of posterity. And the kings of the East have no other thing to complain of, but that neither study nor polite literature flourished among them, as, if the love of learning were joined to that of military glory, the one would support the other, and their fame become greater than that of our kings. Since, in the same way that fine subjects draw out powers of composition, a fine writer will often enable lofty subjects to shine forth and to become models of splendour even among more illustrious ones.

Coming at length to the task I have prescribed for myself, I say that after the death of Unghermaumot, Ussun Cassano survived but a short time, and died on the eve of Epiphany in the year one thousand four hundred and seventy-eight, leaving four sons, three born from one mother, and one from Despina Caton,² the daughter of the Emperor of

¹ Persian literature at that time was in a most flourishing condition, the age comprising some of the most illustrious names in their annals. *Vide p. 2.*

² Caton-Khatoon, meaning "Madam" or "Lady", and so "Queen." Despina, Δεσποινα, means the same thing.

Trebizond,¹ which son on the very night of his fathor's death was killed by his three brothors. Between theso three the desire of reigning they each had, producqd great rivalry and hatred, so that the second assassinated his elder brother,² and reigncd alone, heing named Giacuppo Chiorzeinal.³

Despina had already been separated from her hnsband, and lived on the confines of Riarbera, in the city of Cavalleria,⁴ where she died, and was burid in the town in the Church of St. George,⁵ whero even to this day her sepulchre⁶ is greatly hononred. Ussun Cassano had three daughters by her: the first, named Marta, was married to Secheaidare,⁷ Ruler of Ardnil,⁸ a town towards the north-east, threo days' jorney distant from Tanris. This chief was the head of tho faction of the " Cacarineri"⁹ (black sheep), which is the Sufi party, vory powerful by the number of its partizans,¹⁰ and tho new doctrine, the whole of Persia boing divided into two factions, one of which is called the White Cacari,¹¹ and the other the Black Cacari, which are like what the Guelphs and Ghibellinos, the Bianchi and Neri nsed to be in Italy. And the other two daughters lived with their mother with great riches, and after her death still dwelt in Cavalleria; but hearing of the death of their father, and how cruelly their half-brothers had killed their full brothor, fearing what might happen to them also, they collected thoir jewels and other valuables, and fled to Aleppo and thence to Damascus.

¹ Calo Johannes. See p. 9.

² Calul.

³ Yakooh.

⁴ From what appears in the other books this must be meant for Cartibiert Kharput, ia the province of Diarbekr. See Angioletto, cap. 1.

⁵ See *Travels of a Merchant*, cap. 3.

⁶ She was buried in the town of Diarbekr.

⁷ Sheikh Hyder.

⁸ Ardebil, where are the tombs of Sheikh Hyder and Shah Ismael Sufi, is situated in the plain of Mogam. It has now entirely declined from its former importance.

⁹ Kara Koyun.

¹⁰ This was not the case, as the Suffavean family did not belong to either of the Toorkman tribes.

¹¹ Ak Koyun.

In this place one of them was living in the year one thousand five hundred and twelve, and saw M. Caterino, son of M. Pietro, the son of the M. Caterino who had been amhassador in Persia, which young merchant was then trading in Dsmasens, and having recognised him as a rolation, she received him with the greatest demonstrations of love, and wishing to return to Porsia, as she had heard of the good fortune of Ismail, her nephew, who had possessed himself of the kingdom of Persia, she endeavoured to take him with her, promising him great things and certain rank. But M. Caterino, who was restrained by the love of his country and further by affection for his relations, thanked her for her goodwill and kindness of disposition, but remained, excusing his not going on account of the importance of his affairs, and the affection he bore to his native country.

This Giacuppo, who had slain his elder brother, reigned a long time, and at last, as thou say, was killed by an intrigno of his wife, who was not a *very* virtuous woman. After him Allamur,¹ his son, reigned, who, besides Persia, possessed Diarhee, and part of Greater Armenia, near tho Euphrates; in his time the faction of the Black Cacari² was held in such eredit, throngh Secheaidare, that the other of the White Cacari declined altogether. Secheaidare was a Saint or Master or Prophet,³ as we should call him, who, by preaching a new Dogma in the Mahometan creed, that Ali was superior to Omar, obtained many disciples and people who favoured his doctrino. So great was his success, that at this time he was considered by all a Saint, and a man almost divine. He had by Marta, the daughter of Despina, and of Ussun Cassano, six children: three sons and threo daughters;

¹ Also called Alumut or Eluanbeg; he was not left in undisturbed possession of the throne, as his brother Morad Khan disputed it with him, and established himself in Babylonia and Fars.

* Kara Koinloo. See previous page.

* Follower of Ali, Alance.

and, although his wife was the daughter of a Christian lady, he nevertheless remained an enemy to our faith ; as, having made himself captain¹ of a foraging party, he made frequent hostile inroads as far as Circassia, plundering everywhere and bringing back an immense number of slaves into Persia to Arduil,² his city. These incursions, in addition to the advantages he reaped from his booty, raised his reputation so high, that he soon had the support of all the chiefs of his faction, and having raised a large army marched on another similar invasion of Circassia, and passing Sumachi³ in eight days' journey from Arduil, arrived at Berbento,⁴ which is five days distant from Sumachi, having with him a force of between five and six thousand men, all warriors and brave, well-trained soldiers. Berbento is a city which was built in the passes of the Caspian Mountains by Alexander, to resist the incursions of the Scythians, where the pass is so narrow that one hundred resolute soldiers could bar with their pikes

¹ See Angiolotto, cap. 12.

² Ardebil.

³ Shirvan, the largest and most important division of the Southern Caucasus, is watered by numberless rivers, the largest of which is the Kur. Its capital is Schamachi, under which name, according to Kinneir, there are two cities, the old and the new. He says: "New Schamachi is situated in a plain on the river Aksui, about fifty versts from the Kur, and the same distance from the sea. The form is quadrangular, each side being eight hundred paces in length. The walls are in tolerable repair, built of unburnt brick, and surrounded with a very deep and broad ditch. When this town was taken by Aga Mabomed Khan in 1795, the inhabitants were supposed to amount to six thousand souls; but the city, as well as the villages nearest the plain, were reduced to ruins by that relentless tyrant, who did not retire till the month of February of the following year. The rains of the old Schamachi, once a large and populous city, are still extant, but they are almost hid from the view by thick brushwood. This is the Schamacha of the ancients and stands in a fine situation, in an angle formed by the southern branch of Mount Caucasus."

⁴ Derbend, a strong fortress on the Caspian, the Peninsula of Apsheron, near the Demir Kapoo or Iron Gates of the Caucasus. See note to Angiolotto, cap. 16.

the passage of a million of men. Its site is considered the strongest of all the cities of the East, as it is situated on the summit of some mountains and has two walls¹ as far as the sea enclosing the town and the port, where the vessels lie, in a space not exceeding three hundred paces in extent; and this space is so strong and well fortified that, by keeping guard, no one can enter. It is the only pass by which one can enter Circassia, and the people of the country call it Amircarpi,² which signifies gates of iron, not because there are any, but because the place is so strong and secure against attack. For this reason, being safe themselves, the inhabitants would neither give free passage to Secheaidare,³ nor let anyone enter, from fear of the men he had with him; they, immediately despatching letters and messages to the King Alamur to inform him of these things, they prepared to defend themselves, if Secheaidare tried to force a passage.

The king, greatly disturbed by these designs of Secheaidare, entertained no slight suspicion of him, as it seemed to him that he, by the esteem in which he was held, and his numerous followers whom he enriched from the great booty he made, might make himself so great in time as to be able to overthrow the kingdom, and establish a dynasty of his own firm and safe against any attack.

Secheaidare, seeing the passage barred to him, being greatly enraged against the people of Berhento, commenced attacking the country, and used all his power to get them into his hands. Alamur hearing this, did not think fit to hold back any longer, as too much procrastination might be productive of some misfortune. Therefore, having hastily collected an army, he advanced towards Berhento, and by marching quickly arrived in time for the support of his

¹ Compare the Long Walls at Athens.

² Demir Kapoo.

³ Sheikh Hyder.

people. Secheaidare, when he heard of the approach of the army of Alamur, left off attacking the place, and set himself in array against him ; and, the fray beginning fiercely on both sides, a stuhhorn fight was kept up for several hours before either side appeared to be getting the best of it. At length Secheaidare, overcome by the number of his enemies was cut to pieces, and his men, although but few, performed prodigies of valour, and there was not one who was not dead or mortally wounded. The head of Secheaidaro, fixed on the point of a lance, was sent to Tanris and kept in a public place that it might be seen by everyone ; and after rejoicing and celebrating the victory obtained over him, they threw him to the dogs. And this news being brought to Arduil, where the wife of Secheaidaro and his children were, all those of the Sufi faction lamented greatly ; nevertheless, they kept silence and dissimulated in order not to give the king cause for anger against them. But his sons, seized with fear for themselves and their lives, as in sudden emergencies one is afraid of everything, fled, one to Natolia, another to Aleppo, and the third to an island in the lake Attamar,¹ inhabited by Armenian Christians and called by the name of the Holy Mother of God, where he remained four years concealed in the house of a priest, without anything being known of it in Persia.²

This youth, who was called Ismail, was thirteen years old,³ of noble presence and a truly royal bearing, as in his eyes and brow there was something, I know not what; so great and commanding, which plainly showed that he would yet some day become a great ruler. Nor did the virtues of his

¹ Aktamar or Van Lake, so called from the island of Ak Tamar, where the Catholicos of the Armenians resides.

² Knolles says he fled into Hyrcania to Pyrcales. See *Travels of a Merchant*, cap. 13, and next page.

³ The accounts of authors vary as to Ismael's age (see *Travels of a Merchant*, cap. 13); but I believe this to be the correct statement.

mind disaccord with the beauty of his person, as he had an elevated genius, and such a lofty idea of things as seemed incredible at such a tender age. Therefore the good priest, who professed to be an astrologer and to know the course of events from the aspect of the heavens, cast his horoscope, and foresaw that he would yet become lord of all Asia. On this account he set himself with greater solicitude to serve him, and treated him to the extent of his power with every sort of indulgence and courtesy, thus laying up a debt of the greatest gratitude from him.

Ismail, longing to recover his paternal possessions, left this place before he had reached the age of eighteen years, and went to Carabao,¹ and then to Gillon,² finding out the house of a very old friend of his father's, named Pircale. He, moved with compassion for the condition of Ismail, as he had once seen his father a great ruler, wrote secretly to Arduil to all those of the Suffavean faction,³ who he knew had lost fathers, brothers, or kinsmen in the battle of Derbent against the opposing faction of the white Cacari, in order that when they were reminded of all that Secheaidare had done for them, they might assist his son Ismail, who had come to him from his place of concealment, both to gain his father's inheritance, and to restore the party. Also that, if ever one could expect great things from a young man as handsome and nobly-born as he was, he would promise wonderful things from him, as he saw that he had vigour of mind, quickness of perception, and a per-

¹ Kara Bagh, the country between the rivers Knr and Aras, the former river dividing it from Shirvan.

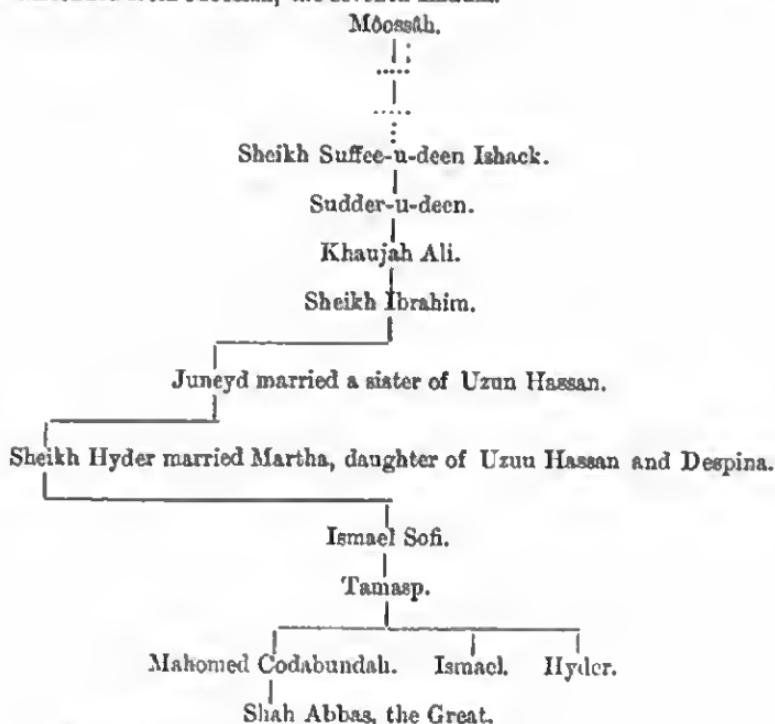
² Ghilan, a province along the south-west shore of the Caspian, is rich and populous, the soil exceedingly fertile, fruits, rice, and grain being cultivated with great success; but the cultivation of silk constitutes the principal trade, and quantities are exported annually to Astrakhan from Recht and Lankeroon, the two principal towns in the province. Its population amounts to about six hundred thousand.

³ Followers of Ali, or rather of Sheikh Hyder, from the name of his

eonal valour which he had never yet seen equalled by any of his contemporaries.

Gained over by these letters, the people of Arduil offered for this object and for any other, which would help Ismail, all their power and influence. Therefore, he having sent secret orders as to what they would have to do, and having collected two hundred men of his faction in Gillon, and another two hundred given by the people of Arduil, with whom he was prepared to bring, by a prosperous start, his affairs to a happy termination, took up a position in a valley favourably situated for an ambush, whence at a favourable moment he hurried in the direction of the Castle Marmurlagi,¹ and having made a sudden assault cut to pieces all the garri-

ancestor Sheikh Suffee-u-deen Ishack. The family were lineally descended from Moosash, the seventh Imaum.



¹ Also mentioned at page 57.

son ; then, having set it in order and left a better guard, he entered the town and gave it up to his soldiers to sack, putting all the inhabitants to the edges of the sword. This fortress was very rich from its position on a harbour of the sea of Baccu, eight days' journey distant from Tauris, and to this harbour came ships from Namiscadorem¹ and other places, laden with merchandise for Tauris, Sumachi, and the whole of Persia.

Having captured the fortress, Ismail caused the booty to be brought into it, and distributed freely among his soldiers, not keeping anything for himself from so many precious things, as he wished by this liberality to gain over as much as possible the affections of his men : knowing that in this devotion consists the whole stability of kingdoms and empires. Thus the fame of his liberality and boldness was quickly rumoured abroad, and the memory of his father, who was considered a saintly man, came out mors bright and illustrious than ever, and the Suffavean faction, which since his death had been greatly reduced, began to agitate and rise, attracting adventurers in great numbers to it. Thus he, having assembled five thousand good soldiers, began to hope that he might safely attempt greater things than he had yet done.

Then seeing how easy it would be to make himself master of the town of Sumachi, as there was no suspicion of war in

¹ Mazenderan, part of ancient Hyrcania, is separated from Irak by the Elburz Mountains ; in its soil and climate it resembles Ghilan, except in being more mountainous and wooded. Silk is not cultivated to so great an extent, though the commerce of the province is considerable. The inhabitants were regarded as the most warlike of the Persians, and even held out for a considerable time against the whole power of Tamerlane. The population is about one million five hundred thousand ; the principal towns are Sari, the capital, Balfrush, with upwards of a hundred thousand inhabitants, Amol, Ferrabad, and Ashraff, famous for the palace of Shah Abbas the Great, who also executed that stupendous work named the Causeway of Mazenderan, which at present has been allowed to fall into disrepair.

the country,¹ and consequently few people in the garrison, he hurried towards it by forced marches. The King Sermen-dole, who ruled over it, hearing of this, and seeing that defence was hopeless against Ismail, fled to the impregnable fortress of Culifan,² in the same country of Sumachi. Thus Ismail found the city without defenders, took it without loss, and having cut to pieces the Sumachians all over the place, enriched himself with the immense treasure he found there; this was divided by him, and, as before, bestowed on his men, who thus became very rich.

This second enterprise, so successfully accomplished, raised him to the highest credit; so that the army being reinforced from all the neighbouring regions was greatly augmented in number.

For this reason Alamur, being more alarmed than he ever was in the time of his father, summoned all the great Persian lords to court, and, having collected fighting men, marched with his army against Ismail. The latter, finding his forces too weak to take the field, and, if an opportunity offered, to give battle to the king, sought the aid of some Georgian Christian chiefs whose land bordered on that country, whose names were Alexander Beg, Gurgurabet, and Mirahet. These, as they had an ancient enmity against Alamur, and wished to overthrow his power, availing themselves of the opportunity given by Ismail, decided to assist him against Alamur, and therefore each of them sent three thousand horse, so that they were altogether nine thousand excellent soldiers; these are the people who were anciently called Iherians, and as they then were, and still are, Christians, have continually waged war with the Turks on the frontiers of Trebizond. They were joyfully welcomed, and

¹ Alamur, or Eluan Beg, was not in sure possession of the throne, as he was engaged in a struggle with his brother Morad Khan, who ruled over Bagdad, Shiraz, etc. See page 43.

² Also mentioned at page 56.

received many presents from Ismail, who, with these Georgian auxiliaries, found himself with an excellent army of sixteen thousand men in the field.

Theace he advanced with the intention of giving hattle to Alamar, if he had an opportunity, and thus both approached each other hetwoon Tauris and Sumachi, near a great river,¹ where Alamur, who had an army of thirty thousand men, infanstry and cavalry, having placed himself on his guard, occupied the only two hridges hy which Ismail could cross into the territory in which ho was posted. Ho did it with the intention that the enemy, finding the passage barred to them, might not, with tho daring which they say is often favoured by fortune, stake all on one throw, and force him to fight against his will.

But Ismail, who was fearful of losing his reputation by any check or loss of time, and the more so, as he saw that Alamur, by his occupation of the hridges, was safi in his position from any attack, and looked slightiagly ou any skirmish, having by great good luck found a ford of the river, crossed it silently hy night, and forming into a heavy column attacked the enemy and caused great slaughter. This happeaed, as the king's men being half-naked, and not having time to seize their arms, were cut to picces ia immeuso numbers by armed aud ferocious soldiers; and if here and there some holder spirits made head, so fierce was the onset of the Suffaveans, that they wero drivca back in an instant by a continuous shower of blows, and forced to share the fortunes of tho others. And never has a more horriblo nocturnal struggle than this been recorded; because, in the greatest darkness of the night, the wholo field of hattle was lighted up with the flash of arms, and throughout tho whole region were heard the clash and din and confusion caused by the rout and massacre of so large an army, which fled before the pursuit of the encmy. Alamur, haviac escaped with

¹ Either the Kur or the Aras, more probably the latter.

difficulty with a few friends, retired to Amir,¹ fortifying himself in that city.

And Ismail having, to his great reputation, put that great army to the edge of the sword, caused all the booty to be collected and divided among his men, without keeping a single thing for himself. The second day he appeared before Tauris,² and, meeting with no resistance, took it and gave it up to plunder, cutting to pieces those of the opposing faction; and then, in order to avenge his father on those captains and chiefs who were said to have opposed Secheaidare in the battle of Berhent, and to have had a hand in his death, he caused their bodies to be disinterred and burnt in the market-place. And, while they were carrying them there, he drew up a procession before them of two hundred harlots and four hundred thieves; and to show a greater indignity to those chiefs, he ordered the heads of the thieves and harlots to be cut off and burnt with the bodies. And, not satisfied with this, he had his stepmother brought before him, who after the death of his father had married a certain great lord, who was on the side of the king in the same action of Berhent, abused her to her face, insulted her in every possible way, and at last commanded that she should be decapitated as the vile and worthless woman she was, in revenge for the slight estimation she had held his father in.

All the people and neighbouring chieftains being terrified by the capture of Tauris and the rout of the king, sent in their allegiance to Ismail, except those of Alangiacalai, a fortress two days' distant above Tauris towards the north, which place, with ten adjacent towns, is inhabited by Catholic Christians, who at last, having remained faithful to Alamur for five years, hearing of his death, surrendered it on conditions to Ismail with its immense treasure. When he had gained possession of this castle, Ismail caused him-

¹ Diarbekr.

² Tauris, or Tabreez. See *Travels of a Merchant*, cap. 7.

self to be proclaimed sovereign of Persia under the new title of Sofi.

But Moratcan,¹ son of Alamur, having assembled an army of thirty thousand men with some Turkish auxiliaries, endeavoured to recover the throne which rightly belonged to him, with the design of regaining his father's dominions, and at the same time to avenge the defeat of his relative on the Suffavean faction. Ismail, hearing this, quickly assembled an army and advanced to meet Moratcan, when those two young princes came to battle in the plain of Tauris, and for a time both performed great feats with arms in their hands; but the Suffaveans were brave, and being veteran soldiers and accustomed to be victorious under the fortunate generalship of their commander, routed the soldiers of Moratcan with great slaughter, and this unhappy young man seeing no hope of re-establishing his affairs, fled to Diarbeka² with a few soldiers who escaped from the rout. These things happened in the year one thousand four hundred and ninety-nine, Ismail gaining a great reputation for good fortune, but more for courage, so that from that time he began to become a terror to all the East.

The following year Ismail made an enterprise against Diarbeka, which was still in the allegiance of Moratcan, and made himself master in that region of some important places. And since Aladnli³ had assisted Moratcan from distrust of Ismail and his greatness, he collected an army of more than sixty thousand men and marched against him, not, however, without great fear of exciting against himself the Soldan and the Turk, as the country of Aladnli was situated between these two powers. Then, taking the road of Arsenga and Seras, he arrived in Maseria, through the dominions of the Turk, paying for provisions and tolls, without molesting the

¹ Morad Khan, brother, not son, of Eluan Beg, ruler of Fars, Babylonia, etc.

² Diarbekr. Eluan Beg had also taken refuge here.

³ Ali-ed' Doulch.

inhabitants in any way, showing himself desirous of being on a good footing with the Ottoman. Thus, having arrived in Aladuli's country, at the town of Alessat,¹ he crossed some mountains in one day, in this way reaching Amaras,² putting all the country to fire and sword and rapine. But Aladuli, who had escaped to the montaine of Catarac,³ and fortified himself there, not wishing to stake all his power at once, took particular care not to give battle to Ismail. Instead, he sent out some bands of good cavalry and, by attacking the Suffaveans, sometimes by day and sometimes by night, and retiring to the monntains, kept continually harassing the hostile army, wherefore Ismail having remained from the twenty-ninth of July to the middle of November, without succeeding in his undertaking, was forced to retreat from want of supplies, the winter, and dearth, to Malatia, a city of the Soldan's, from whence he passed on to Tauris, having lost on the road many soldiers and an almost countless number of his horses and camels, through the bitterness of the cold and the quantity of the snow.

But, not being in the least cast down by this repulse, the following year, assembling an army of forty thousand men, he attacked Casan, a town in Babylonia belonging to Moratcan, to free himself from all apprehension of his ever doing him any harm. On this account, Moratcan having collected an army of thirty-six thousand infantry and cavalry, advanced to Sevas,⁴ to draw the enemy off from attacking Casan; then Ismail following him, advanced to Spaam⁵ to join battle with Moratcan, staking the whole of his fortune on this battle, knowing well the valour of his men, and that already the Persians and all the others who had been under the sway of Alamur began to desire that he shoule rule over

¹ Albistan, sixty miles from Marash; ten thousand inhabitants.

² Marash, sixty miles from Iskenderoon; ancient capital of Karamania.

³ Kara Dagh, or Black Mountain.

⁴ Shiraz in this case, not Sivas.

⁵ Ispahan.

them. This move of Ismail's cast such terror into the hostile army, that gradually they began to desert and to escape into the Sufiavean camp; hence, Moratcan being thrown into consternation, attempted to make peace with Ismail, and sent ambassadors to announce his willing submission, if he would only leave him Bagadet;¹ but, as neither the ambassadors nor the conditions of peace were received by Ismail, who aspired to become sole master, Moratcan, despairing of his life if he fell into his hands, fled with a squadron of three thousand cavalry towards Aleppo. As he was not received here from the fear the Soldan had of irritating Ismail, he went on to Aladnli, and was most graciously received by that lord, who had formerly been his great friend and who gave him hopes of re-establishing him in his power, if an opportunity showed itself; and, in order to increase his hopes, gave him one of his daughters as his wife.

Ismail having in the manner related, defeated Moratcan, came with his whole army to Bierbeca,² and made himself master of Bagadet and Seras,³ cutting to pieces many of the opposing sect in that region, and then having established laws and settled a garrison, returned to Tanris. The following year, which was 1508, after making great preparations for war, he advanced in person against the Tartar Leasilbas,⁴ ruler of Samarcant, whose subjects are the Zagatai, otherwise called the Green Caftans.⁵ This chief was at that time on the frontier of Persia with a victorious army, having performed many feats of arms in the vicinity, as, after seizing the country of the Saracens, he had then taken the great

¹ Bagdad.

² Diarbekr.

³ Shiraz.

⁴ Sheibani Khan, or Shahabeg Khan, a descendant of the Great Zengis, the enemy of Baber the first of the Moguls, was the founder of the Usbeg power on the ruins of that of Timeur, in Central Asia. He was defeated and killed by Shah Ismael Sofi at the battle of Merv Shah Jehan in 1514. See Baber's *Memoirs*, translated by Mr. Erskine.

⁵ Suunes.

town of Eri¹ and Caradisca, and Cara,² and, last of all, Sanderem³ and Sari,⁴ two large cities situated on the Sea of Baccu,⁵ and close to the dominions of Ismail; by these conquests he had thrown all the East into the greatest alarm, and particularly raised great apprehension in the Sofi, who was an enemy of those of the Green Castans. On this account he retired to Spām,⁶ and encamped with his whole army, hnt the victorions Lasilhas,⁷ in order to gain a pretext for coming to hlow with the Suffaveans, demanded a free passage from Ismail, in order that he might pay his vows at Mecca. This demand made Ismail still more apprehensive; therefore, having refused point blank, he strengthened all the region on the frontiers of Lasilbas with a strong force of cavalry, keeping his army the whole year, 1509, in those parts with the intention of opposing the Tartar if he attempted to force a passage. At length, hy the intervention of some Tartar and Persian lords friendly to both, they concluded a peace between them.

And Ismail, who, from one war was nrged on to another, in the following year went against tho Ruler of Siraan,⁸ who had refused the tribnte which he paid every year, and having entered the plains of Carabac,⁹ which are more than one thousand miles in extent, in the midst of which is the territory of Chianer,¹⁰ whence come the Canary silks, he sent to take Smachi, and having attacked Culofan,¹¹ a very strong

¹ Herat, a city of great importance in the history of Persia, and the key or gate of India, as it has been aptly described; it is well fortified, and the emporium of commerce between Cabul, Bokhara, Hindoestan, and Persia, with a population of forty thousand; it is now subject to Afghanistan.

² Khaf.

³ Sanderem, probably Amol or Balfrush, in Mazanderan.

⁴ Sari, the capital of Mazanderan, a well fortified town of fifteen thousand inhabitants, with a brisk trade with Astrakhan and the interior of Persia, twenty miles from Balfrush.

⁵ The Caspian.

⁶ Ispahan.

⁷ Sheibani Khan.

⁸ Shirvan.

⁹ Kara Bagh.

¹⁰ Canar.

¹¹ See page 50.

fortress situated in the same region as Sumachi, he reducad it, together with Mamurcagi,¹ a castle of great importance in thosa parts, from its strength. And then, marching by the shores of the Saa of Baoel, he took many other strong castles, since the country of Servan ia seven days' journoy in extent along the coast of this samo sea, beginniug at Mamurcagi as far as Berhonto, in which tract there are threa large cities and three castles. With this conquest he returned in triumph to Persia, and feasted several days in honour of the victory he had ohtained, with almost all the great lords and princees of the realm.

And a short time after there broke out a fierce war with the above-mentioned Tartar Lasilhas, from a certain amhition and rivalry which existed hetween them; when Lasilbas came with a groat army against the Suffaveans, and, joining in a fierce and sanguinary contest,² bore himself as a valiant man for many hours; nevertheless, the forces of the euemy prevailing, he was repnlsed and routed, and aaved³ himself hy flight to Samarcant.

This victory was the most illustrious that Ismail ever obtained, as he fonght against onemies who were great wariora and famons in all the East. For this reason the Turk and the Soldan became greatly apprehensive of the power of Ismail, both considering, that if after all tha Tartar happened to be conquered, the road would ha opened for Ismail to acquire Asia and Egypt, as in all the East there were no princes more powerful than they, but the Tartar Lasilbas.

¹ See page 48.

² The great battle of Merv Shah Jehan, 1514. The city of Merv, the ancient capital of Margiana, was founded by Alexander the Great, and embellished by Antiochus Nicator, who gave it the name of Antiochia. It was long the seat of the Seljooks and also of the great Alp Aralan, whose tomh is there. It has now declined in importance, having been repeatedly sacked hy the Usbegs.

³ He was killed in the battle.

On this account Selim, the Grand Turk, having heard that Ismail was engaged with the war waged against the city of Samarcant,¹ which was the largest in the possession of the Tartar prince, brought together an immense army of Turks, and advanced in person against Persia, in the year 1514 ; he marched towards the river of Sivas,² which is six hundred miles distant from Constantinople and six hundred and forty from Tauris : so that one may say that it is about half way between the two cities, and having passed the river Lai,³ he marched forward quickly through the country of Arsenga.⁴ Ismail, who was in Tauris without his regular troops, who were engaged in besieging Samarcant, hearing of this, began to levy other forces in haste, and having collected a tolerably good army placed it under two of his most valiant captains, one named Stacalu Amarhei and the other Aurbec Samper, and sent them against Selim, in order, by skirmishing, to retard his advance until he had assembled sufficient men to oppose his enemy openly in the field. This army consisted of fifteen thousand horsemen, all good soldiers, and, so to speak, the flower of the Persian people, as the kings of Persia are not accustomed to give pay on the occasion of war, but to a standing force, which is called the "porta" of the king. Thus it is that the Persian gentlemen, to be well brought up, pay great attention to horsemanship, and when necessity calls, go willingly to war, and bring with them, according to their means, a certain number of servants as well armed and mounted as themselves ; nevertheless, they do not come out except for the defence of the country ; so that, if the Persian soldiery were paid, as is the Turkish, there is no doubt but that it would be far superior

¹ Samarcand, a city once almost the capital of the world, being well known as the seat of Timour, but now greatly declined in importance. It is a hundred and thirty miles from Bokhara, and is still the *entrepôt* for a caravan trade, with ten thousand inhabitants.

² The Iris, present Kizzil Irmak.

³ Iris.

⁴ Erzingan.

to that of the Ottoman princes. This thing has been observed by all those who have had anything to do with both these nations.

The Persian ladies themselves follow in arms the same fortunes as their husbands, and fight like men, in the same way as those ancient Amazons who performed such feats of arms in their time.

Now, the two captains, Amarbei and Samper, marched ahead, and hearing that Selim had crossed the Euphrates and was advancing by forced marches, retreated to Coi,¹ where Ismail, who had come from Tauris, was in person. Being informed of the large forces Selim was bringing with him on this enterprise, he caused his army to be strongly entrenched, and returned to Tauris to collect more troops, and then to show front to the enemy.² Coi is a city which

¹ Khoi, the capital of a rich district, with a considerable trade between Turkey and Persia; it has a population of twenty-five thousand, and is a well-built, handsome town, on the Ak Schai, a tributary of the Aras.

² Battle of Schalderan, fought, according to Knolles, on the 7th August, 1514. He says that Ismael himself was present in the battle and did wonders in arms, as, with only thirty thousand men he attacked the Turkish army three hundred thousand strong. The Persian cavalry bore down the Turks on every side, though with the loss of one of their great chiefs, Usta-ogli. "The Persians were now ready on either side to have assailed Sclymus in his greatest strength; when Sinan Bassa, although the wing he led was sore rent and weakened, yet following the Persians through the middest of the heaps of the slain footmen, came in, in good time for Sclymus, and with certaino fresh troops which had escaped from the furie of Usta-ogli restored the battell before almost lost; but, especially by the invincible courage of Alisheg and Mahomet his brother, descended of the honourable familie of the Molcozzii, which for nobilitie among the Turke is accounted next unto the Ottomans; both of them for courage resembling their warlike father Molcozzius, famous for that wofull expedition he made into Friuli against the Venetians in the raigne of Baizet. Sclymus, also not yet discouraged, but still in hope, commaunded all the great ordinance wherewith he was environed which he had reserved as his last refuge, to be discharged; by the violence whereof such slaughter was made as well of his owne men

they say was built on the ruins of the ancient Artasata,¹ not more than three days' journey distant from Tanris; on this account, it appeared likely to Ismail, from its proximity, that he might in a very short time find himself engaged in a battle, and therefore expressly commanded the above-mentioned captains to wait, and when he arrived with fresh forces they would drive back the enemy together. However, shortly after the departure of Ismail, the Turkish army came up in array, on the 24th of August, and spread itself over the plains called Caldoraue, where the Persians also had their encampment.

The latter, seeing the enemy behave with such audacity and provoke them to battle, could not refrain from attacking them, as they had been victorious in so many past wars under the auspices of the greatest monarch of the East: hence, having been joined the night before by some bands of horse from Tsuris, making them in all twenty-four thousand men, divided in two deep columns, of which one was led by Stacalù Amarhei and the other by Aurbec Samper, signal of battle being given, they attacked the enemy bravely. Amarhei, who was foremost, assaulted the troops of Natolia with such a terrific rush, that he broke and routed them utterly, and the Persians made such a slaughter of the Turks, that in that quarter they already had the victory in their hands, if it had not been that Sinan Pasha, to aid that side of the conflict advanced the Caramanian troops, and, taking the Persian force in flank, enabled those who were routed

as of his enemies, mingled together, that what for dust, what for smoke, and thundering of the artillery, having on both sides almost lost the use of sight and hearing; and their horses being so terrified with the thundering report of the great ordinance that they were not now to be ruled, the battell was broken off, the victory yet doubtfull." He goes on to say that Ismael was slightly wounded, and had to retire from the field, which gave the Turks breathing time.

¹ The site of the ancient Artaxarta is fixed on the Aras, a little to the south of Erivan.

and preparing to fly to make head again. The Pereians, resisting Sinan, bore themselves as valiantly as before; nor even when Amarhei was cut to pieces did they fail to keep up the fight courageously.

Samper, seeing the Caramanians change their positions and attack Amarhei, also closed his column and attacked Sinan on his flank, routed the Caramanians, and in a moment was on the royal forces, and the cavalry, though in disorder and hardly led, cut to pieces the foremost ranks of the janissaries, and cast into confusion that famous infantry, so that it appeared a thunderbolt cleaving that large and mighty army. The monarch, seeing the slaughter, began to retreat, and to turn about, and was about to fly, when Sinan, coming to the rescue at the time of need, caused the artillery to be brought up and fired on both the janissaries and Persians. The Persian horses hearing the thunder of those infernal machines, scattered and divided themselves over the plain, not obeying their riders' bit or spur any more, from the terror they were in. Sinan, seeing this, made up one squadron of cavalry from all that which had been routed by the Persians, and began to cut them to pieces everywhere, so that, by his activity, Selim, even when he thought all lost, came off the victor. It is certainly said, that if it had not been for the artillery, which terrified in the manner related the Persian horses which had never before heard such a din, all his forces would have been routed and put to the edge of the sword; and if the Turk had been beaten, the power of Ismail would have become greater than that of Tamerlane, as by the fame alone of such a victory he would have made himself absolute lord of the East.

As it happened, the Persians being discomfited, in the manner related, by Selim, not without great loss on his side, Anrhee Samper was led before him covered with wounds, and on his hearing that Ismail had not been in the action, he said to him, full of indignation, "Dog that thou art, thou

hast had the andacity to come against me, who am in the place of a prophet, and hold the post of God on earth." To this, without any sign of fear, Samper replied, "If you held the post of God on earth, you would not come against my master; but God has saved you from our hands, that you may fall alive into his, and then he will avenge his and our wrongs." Selim, being greatly enraged by his words, said, "Go and kill this dog." And he replied, "I know that this is my hour; but do you prepare your soul to pay the sacrifice of mine; since my master will meet you in a year, and will do the same to you, which you order to be done to me"; whereupon he was immediately cut to pieces. Having done this, Selim raised the camp and came to Coi, in which city he rested with his whole army some days; he then published abroad, and wrote in many letters sent to different places, that he had gained the victory, and that Ismail had been in person in the battle which had taken place in the Calderani¹ plains. This, however, was written falsely, as

¹ Knolles says:—"This was that notable battell fought in the Calderan fields neare unto the city of Coy, betwixt these two great princes, the 7th day of August, in the yeare of our Lord 1514. In which battell Selymus lost above thirtie thousand men, amongst whom was Casan Bassa, his great lieutenant in Enrope; seaven Sanzackes, in which were the two Malcozzian brethren, who, labouring the one to rescue the other, were both together elaine. Beside his common footmen, of whom he made least reckoning, he lost most part of his Illirian, Macedonian, Servian, Epirot, Thessalian, and Thracian horsemen, the undoubted flower and strength of his army, which were in that mortall battell almost all slaine or grievously wounded. Selymns, for all this great losse, by the confession of his ennies having gotten the victorie, and receiving embassadours from Coy and the cities thereabout, and the great citie of Tauris, promising to relieve him with whatsoever he needed, and to doe what else he shold command, marched directly to Tauris, desiring both to see and possesse himself of that citie as one of the chiefc pallaces of the Persian kings. This citie is two daies' journey distant from Coy, where the battell was fought, and is probahly supposed to be the famous citie called in auntient time Ecbatana, about an hundred and fiftie miles distant from the Caspian Sea. The citizens were readie at the comming of the Turks, and brought them great store of victuals out of the gates

Ismail was not there in person, nor even tho corps of his veteran soldiers, who were then round Samarcant, investing that city. Ismail, hearing the news of the rout of his army, collected some of the men who had escaped from the action and had made head in Tauris. With his wife and all his riches he left the city and went to Caseria,¹ which is six days' journey distant from Tauris towards the East, assembling another army to try again in person the fortune of hattle.

After his departure the Turk leaving Coi, arrived at Tauris, and was received with favourable and courteous demonstrations by those of the city, because it did not seem fit to them to peril their lives, as they had no chance against the enemy, before whom so many valiant men who had armed in defence of Porsia had not been able to make head; and remaining there only three days, and not seeing that any of the people or neighbouring chiefs came to give in their submission to him,² Selim began to be apprehensive lest Ismail should be more powerful than he had thought him, as he in truth was, since all the principal men of Persia began to join him with their forces for the safety of the kingdom. Therefore, taking with him different men skilled in arts and five hundred loads of treasure, without injuring the city in any other way, he left it and marched towards the Euphrates, being continually harassed on the road by the Georgians,³ who, with some troops of light cavalry, pillaged

of the citie, where Selymus had lodged his army in the suburbs, thinking it no safetie to lodge within that great and populous citie, contenting himself to have the gates thereof delivered unto him, which he kept with strong guard."

¹ Caseria, probably Casbin.

² The janissaries mutinied, according to Knolles.

³ Knolles says:—" Yet for all the speed he could make, the Georgian horsemen, the forerunners of Hysmaell, his armie being come within sight before the Turkes were all got over, raised such a feare and a stirre all alongt that side of the river that two thousand of the Turkes were in their hasty passage there drowned, divers field pieces left stick-

the baggage of the army, and cut to pieces all those who quitted the ranks ever so short a way. Their assaults were so frequent, that the Acangil¹ who were accustomed to range forty or fifty miles at least from the army, did not dare to forsake it as these fierce guerilla foes made a great slaughter of them everywhere; nor did they fall by the sword alone, but also by hunger; since, as they were accustomed to forage for the army, and not being able to perform this office from fear, it followed that in avoiding one miserable death, they perished by another still more wretched one.

Ismail, in the meanwhile, had greatly strengthened his army, and therefore, hoping soon to fall in with the enemy, advanced to Tauris, where, hearing that the Turk had departed, and was retreating in such haste that he would not be able to overtake him, thought fit to remain and to take steps with more caution in this enterprise. He therefore wrote letters and sent ambassadors to the Soldan, to Prince Aladuli, and to the King of Gorgora, to show them the great peril they ran if they did not take up arms with him against Selim, since if Persia were subdued, all their States would become a prey to the enemy. These ambassadors were willingly listened to, from the fear these princes entertained on account of Selim's victory over the Snuffaveans. On this account they formed a league, into which Ismail, the King of Gorgora, the Soldan,² and Aladnli entered, these monarchs promising to aid one another in case of need against the Ottoman, with the express condition that they should not receive any ambassador from the Turk; this condition not being observed by the Soldan, was afterwards his ruin, and that of all the power of the Mamelukes. As, the Turk having sent an ambassador a short time later,

ing in the mud, and much of their baggage carried away with the force of the river. The Georgians contenting themselves with such things as were left, pursued them no farther."

¹ Ikindjia.

² Khafour el Ghouri.

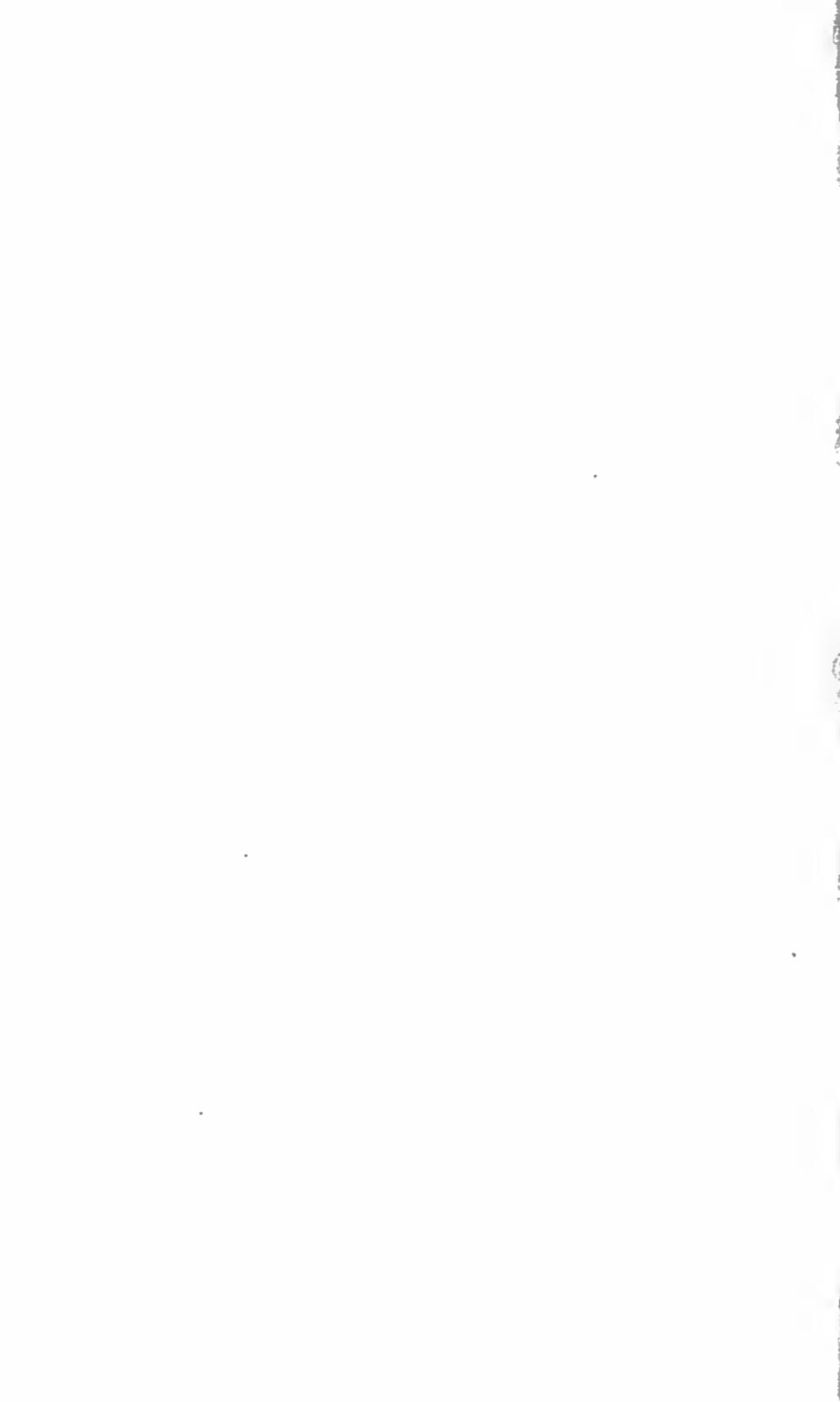
ho received and heard him against the condition of the league; therefore, when Selim entered Sorin¹ to fight against the Soldan, Iemail would not give him his assistance from fear of being left in the lurch.²

The league being concluded in the manner related, Ismail, who was fully prepared for the enterprise against the Turks, sent ambassadors to Selim, who was then in Amasia,³ with presents, a *bâton* of massive gold, a saddle and richly-mounted sword, with a letter to this effect:—"Ismail, great Sovereign of the Persians, sends to you Selim these gifts, quite equal to your greatness, as they are worth as much as your kingdom; if you are a brave man, keep them well, because I will come and take them from you, together with your head and kingdom, which you possess against all right, as it is not proper that the offspring of peasants should have rule over so many provinces." This letter so enraged the haughty spirit of Selim, that he wished to kill the ambassadors, but refrained, being kept back by his Bashas. However, in his rage he could not restrain himself from having their ears and noses cut off, and sent them back in this state with a letter written to Ismail, saying:—Selim, great Sovereign of the Turks, replies to a dog without taking the least notice of his baying; telling him that if he will show himself, he will find that I will do to him what my predecessor Mahomet did to his predecessor Ussun Cassano."

¹ Syria.

² Knolles gives a different reason, namely, that the Persian soldiery were well suited for defending, but not for fighting out of their own country: so Ismael would not risk an invasion.

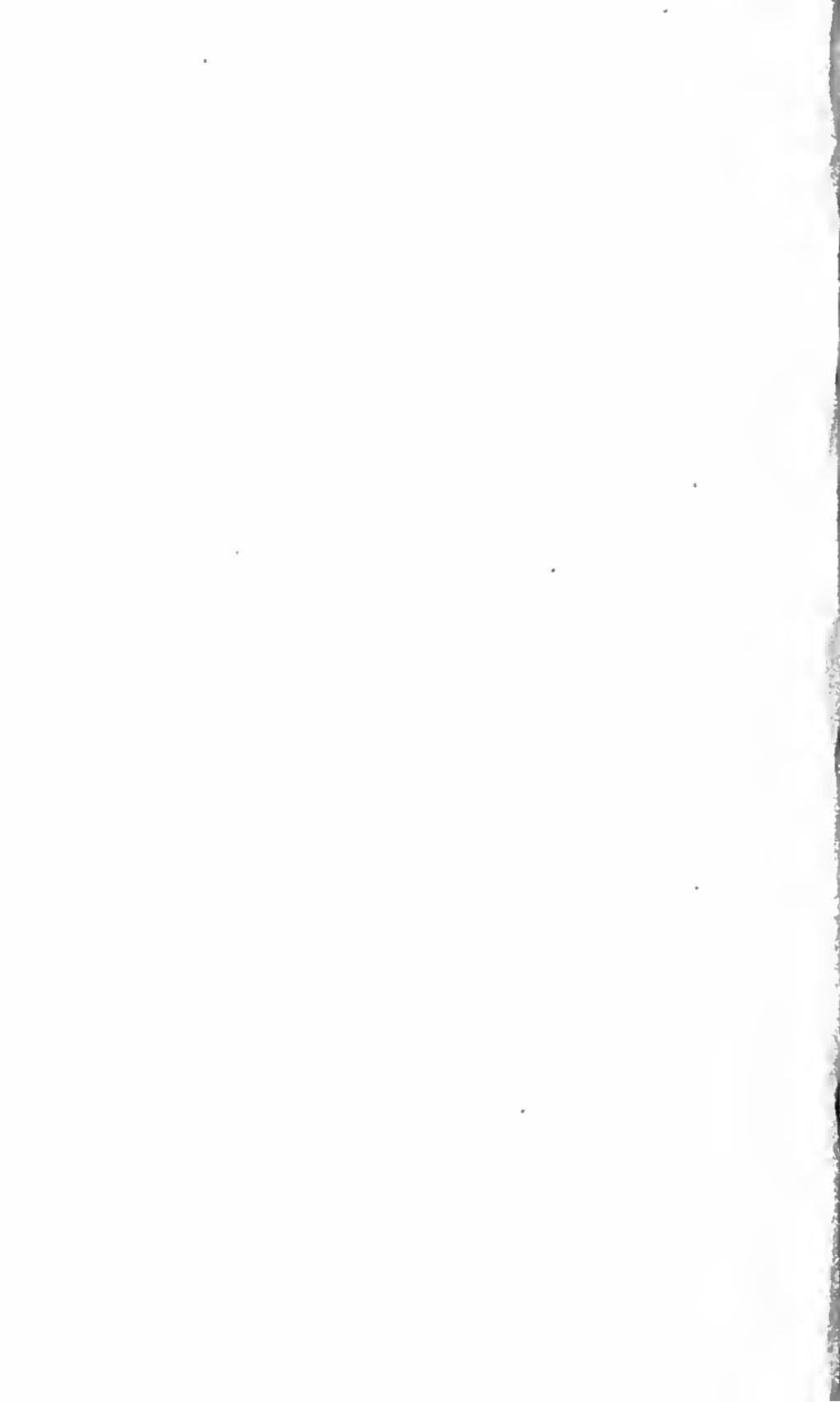
³ Amasia, birthplace of Strabo. See page 37.



DISCOURSE OF
MESSER GIOVAN BATTISTA RAMUSIO

ON THE

WRITINGS OF GIOVAN MARIA ANGIOLELLO AND OF A
MERCHANT WHO WENT THROUGH THE WHOLE
OF PERSIA; IN WHICH ARE NARRATED
THE LIFE AND DEEDS OF USSUN
CASSANO.



DISCOURSE OF
MESSER GIOVAN BATTISTA RAMUSIO.

INTRODUCTION.

EVERYONE who considers the various changes brought by the course of events to human affairs, will, on reflection, be filled with wonder; but I think that those who read ancient history have greater reason to do so, seeing many republics and many great and powerful kingdoms, so to speak, collapse without, in certain cases, leaving even a name, or any memorial behind. The same course of events has caused many races to leave their native countries, and, like proud and rapid rivers, invaded those of others, chasing away the ancient inhabitants, and, not content with that, even change their names. So it happens that, nowadays, there are many races whose origin is not known, of which miserable Italy is an example, as, after the ruin of the Roman empire, a multitude of strange and barbarous nations entered from the North, ousted the inhabitants, changed the vulgar tongue, the names of the provinces, rivers, and mountains, moved the towns from their proper sites, and built them up afterwards at a distance from the spots where they first stood. This has not happened to Italy alone, but also to the province of Gallia, which, on its occupation by the fierce nation of the Franks, lost its name as well as its inhabitants. The same happened to Britain, now called England; to Pannonia, which is now Hungary; and to many other countries which it would be tedious to enumerate; But I cannot hold my peace about poor, afflicted Greece, celebrated by all classic writers, which was anciently the home of science and the example of humanity, but now fallen low indeed, being subjected to the empire of the Turks, and inhabited only by

barbarous and unlettered tribes. This same calamity has fallen also on the whole of Asia, since (as one reads in the books of M. Marco Polo and the Armenian), great hordes of Tartars issued from the regions of Cathay and overran the countries, and, having settled in their new abodes, changed the names of the provinces to others familiar to the conquerors. Thus Margiana, Bactriana, and Sodiana, provinces near the Caspian Sea, being taken by Zacaia, brother of the Great Khan, were called instead the country of Zacaia, from the province of Turquestan, which is beyond the rivers Jaxartes and Oxus.

There came another great multitude of people, who settled themselves in Asia Minor,—that is, in Bithynia, Phrygia, Cappadocia, and Paphagonia, and called it Turkey. At the same time, Huccotu Can¹ having made himself master of the provinces of Media, Parthia, and Persia, now named Azemia;² his successors gave them different names; and even in our times the Sophi, who was the son of a daughter of Ussun Cassano, King of Persia, had these provinces named after him. As there have come into my hands some carefully composed writings, in which are narrated the life and acts of the above-mentioned Ussun Cassano, or Assamhei,³ which are synonymous, and of Sheikh Ismail, who is the Sophi, I thought them suitable to follow the books of M. Marco Polo, and of the Armenian. Moreover, they treat of the same matter, and though agreeing, are different versions, so I think they will greatly amuse my readers. I find that the first author, who speaks of the life of Ussun Cassano, was named Giovan Maria Angiolello, who relates in his history that he served Mustafà, son of Mahomet II, Grand Turk, and that he was in the action⁴ with the same Grand Turk, in which he was routed on the

¹ Hulakoo Khan, son and successor of the great Zingis, and the conqueror of Bagdad. ² Ajemli. ³ Hassan Beg.

⁴ This action was fought near Malatia, at a point previous to the

islands in the bed of the river Euphrates by the army of Ussun Cassano. The name of the second author is not known; but it is evident that he was of a cultivated intellect, and that in the course of his hnsiness he went through almost the whole of Persia. To those two authors we have added two Travels, one of the Illustrious M. Josapha Barharo, and the other of the Illustrious M. Ambrosio Contarini, Venetian gentlemen, who treat of the same matters; so that of the affairs of Persia of late times, we have a history, if not continuous, at least leaving little to be desired. I wish that fortune had been favourable enough to allow me to get into my hands the Travels of the Illustrious M. Caterino Zeno, knight, who was the first ambassador who went into that region to the monarch Ussun Cassano; but, although printed, it has been lost, owing to the length of time that has elapsed. And truly the above-mentioned M. Caterino was one of the rare and worthy gentlemen who existed at that time in this most excellent Repuhlie. Therefore, in the year 1471 he was elected ambassador to the King Ussun Cassano, to incite him to attack the Turk, with whom the Republic was then engaged in the fiercest war. He, moved by the love he bore to his country, like a good citizen, not considering the length or danger of the journey, accepted the charge cheerfully, and went the more willingly as he hoped to be a more fitting instrument for good than anyone else. Since Caloianni,¹ Emperor of Trchizond, having given one of his daughters, named Despinacatou,² in marriage to Ussun Cassano, King of Persia, married another of them called Valenza to the Duke of the Archipelago, named the Lord Nicolo Crespo, by whom the duke had four daughters and a son, Francesco, who succeeded his father, and whose descendant, Euphrates entering the Gerger Gorgo (Elegia). The islands do not now exist, and they were probably (considering the time of year) only sand-banks left by the fall of the river.

¹ Calo Johannes. See Zeno, p. 9.

² Despina Khatoon; *i.e.*, "Lady" or "Queen" Despina.

Giacomo Crespo, the twenty-first Duke of Naxo, is still living. The daughters were all honourably married at Venice: one named Firunza was mother of the Queen of Cyprus and of the most Illastrions M. Giorgio Cornaro, knight, and his brother, the Procurator, from whom are descended many reverend Cardinals. Another named Lncretia was married to the noble M. Jacomo Prioli, who was the father of M. Nicolo Prioli, the Procurator. Valenza, the third, was the wife of the noble M. Gio. Loredano, and Violante, the fourth, was the wife of the above-mentioned M. Catharin Zeno. Now this Despinacaton, though she was in Persia and at a distance, continually kept up the remembrance of her relatives, her affection for her sister Valenza, wife of the Duke of the Archipelago, and her nieces at Venice. For this reason, this gentleman went readily and was not deceived in his opinion, as, after many hardships and dangers, when he arrived at Tauris in the presence of Ussun Cassano and Despinacaton his wife, he was recognised by her as her nephew, and had great honours and favours paid him; and by the influence he acquired with that monarch he was able to perform many things for his Repnhlic, described in his book, which, as we have said above, we have not been able to get into our hands. King Ussun Cassano, to do greater honour to the noble M. Catharin, chose him for his ambassador to the Christian princes, to incite them against the Turk, and principally to the Kings of Poland and Hungary; but, when he came to them and found them at war with each other, he passed on to others. At this time, the most Illnstrions Government hearing of the departure of M. Catharino, elected in his place M. Josapha Barharo, and after him M. Amhrosio Contarini, whose travels, on his return journey to Venice, by the Caspian Sea, the river Volga, and the country of Tartars, I think will greatly amuse his readers from their novelty and the account of the varione accidents that befel him from day to day.

A SHORT NARRATIVE OF THE LIFE AND ACTS
OF THE KING USSUN CASSANO.

BY
GIOVAN MARIA ANGIOLELLO.

CHAP. I.—Assambei, King of Persia, takes as wife the daughter of the Christian Emperor of Trebizond, and after he has had sons by her, she, with two daughters, goes to lead a solitary life in the Christian faith; her father is taken prisoner to Constantinople.

ASSAMBEI,¹ the most powerful King of Tauris and Persia, had several women as his wives; and, among others, one named Despinacaton, who was the daughter of an Emperor of Trebizond, named Caloianni, who feared the might of the Ottoman, Mahomet II, and hoped in this way to strengthen himself, with the assistance of Assambei, in case of need, so gave her to him as his wife, with the condition that she might hold to the Christian faith, employing chaplains to perform the sacred offices. By this lady Assambei had one male and three female children. The first of these daughters, named Marta, was married to Sachaidar,² father of Ismail Sophi. The other two remained with their mother, who, after a certain time, determined to lead a solitary life apart from her husband, who consented and gave her a large income, assigning as a residence a city named Iscartihort,³ on the frontiers of the land of Diarbekr.⁴ This lady remained in this place a long time, and with her her two daughters,

¹ Hassan Beg.

² Sheikh Hyder. See Zeno, p. 48.

³ Present Kharput. See *Travels of a Merchant*, cap. 3; and Zeno, p. 42.

⁴ Diarbekr.

leading a Christian life, and after her death was buried in the city of Amit,¹ in the church of San Giorgio, where her tomb is to be seen even to this day. The son, Jacob or Juibic, remained with his father, Assambei, and, when about twenty years of age, the very night on which his father died, was strangled by three other brothers by another mother. His sisters, named the one Eliel and the other Eziel, hearing of their brother's death, decided to fly; and, after packing up their goods, went to Aleppo, and thence to Damascus; where they have been often seen, by our countrymen, one of them being still alive. Now, to return to Caloianni, who thought, by giving his daughter as wife to Assambei, that he would strengthen his country against the enemy and remain in possession of Trehizond, I will mention that the Turk quickly came down upon him with his army, before he could obtain succour. The unhappy monarch,² not finding help on any side, was constrained to give himself up to the enemy. Thence he was taken to Constantinople and treated honourably enough, but died before a year was over, in 1462.³

CIIAP. II.—Pirahomat makes war on Abrain, his brother, in order to take from him the kingdom of Caramania, and obtains his end by the aid of the Grand Turk, against whom he afterwards rebels, and flies to Persia.

The King Assambei afterwards had a war with the Ottoman monarch on account of the kingdom of Caramania, to which both preferred a claim. This kingdom was anciently called Cilicia, but afterwards, and to the present time, called

¹ Amid (Diarbekr.) The Church of San Giorgio, or Mar Jurjees, was an old Jacobite church, but is now in ruins. See Zeno, p. 42.

² It was David Comuenus who was the last Emperor of Trebizond. Calo Johannes, his elder brother, having died before the Turkish invasion.

³ Trebizond was taken by Mahomet II in 1461.

Caramania; from an Arah chief named Caraman, who, in course of time, had a descendant named Turuan, who had seven sons. After his death these sons came to blows amongst themselves, and five of them dying, there were two left, Ahrain and Pirahomat. Ahrain,¹ by having more adherents, made himself master, and Pirahomat² fled to the Grand Turk, who claimed relationship with them. Pirahomat, while in Constantinople, continually solicited the Turkish monarch to give him aid to oust his brother and to make him king, offering, in return, to be his subject. The Ottoman monarch, seeing that this offer suited his purpose, agreed, and gave him sufficient forces. Ahrain, Prince of Caramania, hearing this, made preparations to defend his State. In the year 1467 the two armies met between Carasai³ and a city called Aessar,⁴ a great slaughter taking place on both sides. However, at length Pirahomat gained the victory, and remained master of the country without any opposition; his brother turning to fly, fell from his horse, and breaking his ribs, died from it. Pirahomat, however, remained in peaceful possession of the throne for two years only; for it being the custom for all the Turkish barons to go to visit the monarch once a year and to kiss his hand, giving him presents in proportion to their incomes and dignity, and for the monarch to caress them, and to give them many presents, Pirahomat, not caring to observe this custom like the others, the Turk sent to tell him to come to his assistance with part of his forces, as he wished to march against the Christians. But Pirahomat would not obey; wherefore the Turk, enraged at his disobedience, went in person to attack him, and took from him part of the country as far as the Cogno,⁵ putting in command his second son,

¹ Ibrahim.

² Peer Ahmed. See Zeno, p. 15.

³ Shebban Kara Hissar. See Zeno, p. 23.

⁴ Niksar?

⁵ The city of Konieh; but the text denotes a river rather, probably the Iris.

named Mustafà Celebi,¹ leaving a large force with him and sending a good commander with a number of men to go on occupying the rest of the country. Pirahomat, seeing that he could not resist the Turkish forces, left some governors in certain fortresses, departed from the country, and went to Persia to the King Assamhei. On his arrival in Tauris he was greatly welcomed, and his prayers for aid against the enemy being favourably listened to, a force of about forty thousand men was set in order. The commander was named Yusuf,² a man of great reputation, ability, and courage, who, taking the field with the army, soon arrived at the city of Toccat,³ and put the whole country to fire and sword, burning the towns belonging to that city, not delaying to attack fortresses, but went plundering and devastating the country, so that every one fled to the fortresses. At this time Mustafà, the son of the Turk, was sent with one of his father's generals, named Agmat Bassa,⁴ to take the fortresses of Caramania, and was encamped before a strong city named Lula, the inhabitants of which, unaccustomed to hear the terrible sound of artillery, surrendered, and were cruelly treated by Mustafà. Having placed a garrison in the city and hearing that the Persian camp was in the neighbourhood, but that Ussun Cassano was not there in person, he retired to the Cogno, and sent his women and goods away for safety, to a place four days' journey to the west, towards Constantinople, named Sabi Carrahasar,⁵ situated on a high mountain. The camp remained some days at the Cogno, when they, hearing of the approach of the Persians, and not considering themselves strong enough for resistance, retired to the city of Cuthoy,⁶ where Daut⁷ Bassa, Beglerbeg of Natolia, happened to be collecting

¹ Tchelbee or the noble, a common title among the Ottoman princes.

² Yusuf Khan.

³ Tocat.

⁴ Achmet Pasha.

⁵ Afioom Kara Hissar. Zeno, p. 19.

⁶ Cutaych.

⁷ Daoud.

men to resist the Persians. The Grand Turk also had crossed the strait with all his court and part of the Rouman troops to join his other camp, being deceived as to the strength of the enemy, who had been joined by some Caramanians and were marching boldly through the country.

CHAP. III.—Mustafa comes to an engagement with the Persians who had come with Pirahomat to defend Caramania, and routs them. Ussun Cassano exhorts the Venetians to make war on the Turk and to send him artillery.

Mustafa, hearing that Ussun Cassano was not there in person, and that in all, both cavalry and infantry, there were about fifty thousand men, taking leave of his father with Agmat Bassà,¹ and a force of sixty thousand men, the greater part cavalry, set out against the Persians. The enemy, hearing of this movement, advanced no further, but retired to the country of Caramania to get reinforcements and provisions. Now, the Turkish army riding forward in great haste for several days, arrived not very far from where the enemy were encamped. A force of four thousand cavalry under a captain named Arnaut was sent in advance, and at the dawn of day attacked the Persian camp, and during the engagement the rest of the Turkish army came up to the aid of the four thousand horse who had already been roughly handled, Arnaut and more than two thousand of his men being slain. The Persians, seeing their advantage met the Turkish squadron boldly and showed great courage in the contest. But after a great number had been slain on both sides, about the third hour the Persians began to yield, and were routed by the Turks; Yusuf, the commander, and other chiefs, were taken prisoners, while many others were slain. The tents and baggage were captured with a great booty in horses, camels, and other plunder. Pirahomat,

¹ Achmet Pasha.

Prince of Caramania, having the country in his favour, found means to escape, but not feeling safe in his own dominions, returned to Ussun Cassano in Persia. The Turkish sovereign, hearing of this victory, caused great feasts and rejoicings to be held in Constantinople, sending many presents to his son Mustafâ and his captains. After this defeat the King Assamboi sent an ambassador to persuade the Venetian rulers to make war on the Turk, since the latter was coming in person against him. And, in addition, he requested artillery from them, which a short time after was sent to Cyprus with their fleet, but arrived too late, after Assambei had come to blows with the Turks, in which action he had suffered a defeat and retired to Tauris, where he was followed by Messer Josaphat Barbaro and the artillery.

CHAP. IV.—The preparations made by the Turk to go in person against Ussun Cassano and the array of his army in the camp and on the march.

The Turk having gained the victory and made himself master of Caramania, perceiving that Ussun Cessano was hostile to him, by giving aid to Pirahomat, in the year 1473 determined to show him that he was not in the least afraid of him. This he had already done in the battle, but he resolved to do more, and make him feel his immense power. Therefore, the following spring, he made preparations for going in person against Ussnn Cassano, ordering great musters of men to be made. And when the time for opening the campaign was come, in the above-mentioned year he crossed the Strait of Constantinople, with his whole court, into Asia. On arriving in Cappadocia he halted in a plain near a city called Amasia,¹ the residence of Baiesit² Clebi,

¹ Amasia. See Zeno, p. 37.

² Bajazet Tchelebee.

the eldest son of the Turk. This plain is called Casounasi,¹ which, in our language, signifies the plain of the goose ; it can support great armies, and has great resources of water and forage, as there are many towns round it. As this was on the route the Sultan intended to take, it was determined on as the rendezvous for the grand army. Having (as we have already mentioned) ordered all his generals and captains to be prepared, and at the appointed time, with everything in readiness, to appear in this place,—it was done as he commanded. But the Turkish monarch, knowing that this enterprise was of the greatest importance, determined to make all the preparations that the number of his men, the scarcity of necessaries, and the safety of his country and himself required. Therefore, of his three sons, he wished the two elder ones to come on this enterprise, namely, Baiesit the eldest, and Mnstafà his second son ; the third, by name Gion,² remained at Constantinople with good advisers to watch over the safety of his realm. The army being mustered and arranged in this plain of the goose, he resolved on the order it was to hold in the camps and on the road, and the means by which there might be no want of any necessaries or comforts.

It was first resolved to make five principal commanders, one of whom was the Turkish monarch at the head of his court, and other troops to the number of thirty thousand infantry and cavalry. The second was his eldest son, Baiesit, who had a following of another thirty thousand, with his position on the right of his father. The third was his second son, Mustafà, who also had thirty thousand men, among whom were twelve thousand Wallachians from the Basha of Wallachia, under a chief named Bataraha, and this column had its position on the left of the Turk. The fourth was the Beglerbeg of Roumania, named

¹ Quzvassi. The Goose's Plain.

² Djim or Zizim. See Zeno, p. 22.

Asmurat,¹ of the family of the Palaeologi; and, as he was young, Manmet Bassà was given him as an adviser, as he was the first, and considered the most prudent man of the whole empire of the Turk; he was a counsellor of the sovereign, as he had also been of Amurath, the father of the present monarch. This column was sixty thousand strong, comprising many Christians, Greeks, Albanians, and Syrians in their number; and this column had its post in front of the Turk. The fifth commander was the Beglerbeg of Anatolia, named Dant Bassà, a man of authority and mature discretion. The column was forty thousand strong, including Muslim infantry and cavalry, and their post was behind the Grand Turk; so that the Sultan, with his court, remained in the midst surrounded by the four above-mentioned columns. And the commands were that they should pitch their tents, which are very numerous, according to their rank, but without disturbing the order of the march, or leaving their own divisions, arranging close together like a fortified place; but, that they should always leave roads for passage in the camp, and in the middle of each column a large space for a square, since in each column was a market for cooked foods, forage, and other comforts. There were besides in each column seneschals and marshals with full powers for keeping order and providing against disturbances. Each of these four commanders was obliged to send out sentinels and to keep guard in his division. Beside the five columns we have mentioned, there was also another of the Aganzi,² who are not paid, except by the booty they may gain in guerrilla warfare. These men do not encamp with the rest of the army, but go traversing, pillaging, and wasting the country of the enemy on every side, and yet keep up a great and excellent discipline among themselves, both in the division of the plunder, and in the execution of all their enterprises. In this

¹ Amurath.

² Ikindjis.

division were thirty thousand men, remarkably well mounted, and as a commander they had given them a valiant chief named Maumut Aga.

CHAP. V.—The supplies of provisions made by the chief, Arphaemiler, that the army might be in plenty.

In the matter of provisions great care and diligence were required to keep the army in plenty, and for this, two Arphaemiler (as the chief commissariat officers are called, who have two hundred and fifty men under each) were appointed. Their duty is, when the Grand Turk takes the field to send word on a day in advance, to let the people know that the army is about to encamp in that region. And the governors and rulers of those districts provide abundant provisions for the army; and people of every condition come willingly in order to find a market for their produce, as well as for the sake of fellowship and a welcome, being perfectly sure that no violence will be offered them; and woe to anyone who dares to do them violence, as he would be severely punished. There also follow the camp many sutlers, as butchers, bakers, cooks, and many others, who go about buying goods, and bringing them to the camp to make a profit, and in this traffic great and rich men also engage. And those who pursue this trade are favoured and protected by the authorities in all the things they do for the accommodation of the camp; so that at all times when the army is in the field, if the roads are not blocked up by the enemy, there is the greatest abundance.

When the Turkish monarch wishes to go against the enemy and begins to leave his territories, and plenty of provisions are not easily obtained, they determine on the road they are to take, as when in this case against Ussun Cassano we entered the country and advanced ten days' journey from the Turkish frontiers. All safe communication with the frontiers was cut off for three months; so that Gien Sultan,

his son, to whom was left the Government of the State at Constantinople, remained more than forty daye without news of his father or of the army. At length it was rumoured that we were all routed and cut to pieces, which he believed, and endeavoured to gain over to his allegiance the governors of tho fortresses as well as the other magistrates, with which the Turk became so indignant, that he put to death the counsellors who had advised Gien to do so. One of these was named Carestra Solciman and the other Nasufabege. Now, when it happene that the army is past the frontiers and in the enemy'e country, and there is need of provisions, these Arphaemiler have the charge of eending to all parts of their eovereign's dominions, whero they know there is plenty of grain, and of ordering each city to aend eo many camel loads of corn and harley. The cities, with their territories, are hound to obey and to furnish their overseers with the qnantity of corn and barley which has hecn imposed upon them. Besides, they must sond sufficient provisions for the nee of the men and animals, who convey it on the way, eo that the victuals ordered by these lords for the army be not anght diminiehd, hut that at the time of distrihution there he found as much as was ordered, otherwise, the comnnities would suffer reproofs and loss. When these overseers arrive in the camp at their appointed time, they present themselves to the officials of the abovementioned masters of the camp, who, taking note of thcir arrival, aesign to them their places of encampment. Similarly, they take note of all the loads of provisions, and do not touch them without the order of these Arphaemilor, and do not distributo them while they can obtain provisions in any other way. And when the roads are blocked up, nnd there is a want of provisions, the seneschals of the camp go to theso Saraphaemiler masters of the camp, and mention that such and such districts are iu want of corn and barley, and these lords consigu ouo or more of the overseers with his convoy to them,

sending one of their clerks with them, while sometimes a commissary of the seneschals of the camp accompanies them, when, putting the provisions into the market with prices set upon them, they thus sell them, taking equally good reckoning of the quantity of grain as of the money received, lest they should be cheated. After the sale, the money is handed over to the overseer in the name of the community, and receipts taken for the quantity of supplies sold, and of the money consigned. When the overseer arrives at his home he hands over the money to the community, which is distributed in proportion to the quantity of supplies each man has forwarded to the camp, and as such good order reigns, the supply of necessaries is easy. And it is a thing almost incredihle to those who have not witnessed it, to see the vast numbers of camels carrying provisions, more especially in this expedition against Ussun Cassano; in which the Turk, in addition to the ordinary pay, gave an advance of three months, that is, one quarter, according to the person's rank. He also gave assistance to the pnymasters, as they have the paynent of the incomes assigned to them.

CHAP. VI.—The Grand Turk holds a consultation as to the route to be followed by the army on leaving Amasia; of the places passed on the way; and of the dromedaries bringing presents from the Lord of Sit and the Soldan.

Everything necessary for the jorney being got ready, they held a consultation about the route to be followed in going against Ussun Cassano. There was at this consultation the great chief, Jussuf, with other great captains of Ussun Cassano, who, as I have mentioned before, were taken prisoners the previons year, 1472, when the army was routed at Begisar; the Grand Turk had promised to liberate them, if he found that they told the truth about the things that

were asked them of the route to be pursued; nevertheless, they were conducted with the army under a safe escort, and were often questioned about the passes, provisions, water, and encampments. The Turk, also by means of his attendants, treated with and brought to his camp some merchants and other persons accustomed to this journey; and they also were examined separately on these matters. Similarly, the Aganzi,¹ scouring the country and making prisoners of people well acquainted with the country, sent them to the court, where they were likewise examined, and the information given by all being then weighed, they advanced with the greatest caution.

All the necessary preparations being made, the Grand Turk moved the army from the Plain of the Goose and from the city of Amasia,² and advanced towards Toccat, a city of Cappadocia; and the army following its route arrived at the city of Civas,³ situated near the mountains, and near it crossed a large river named the Lais,⁴ flowing from the mountains of Trebizon, over which is an immense stone bridge. Leaving this city on the left, and having crossed this river, we entered a valley of Mount Taurus and arrived at a fortress called Nicher,⁵ belonging to King Ussun Cassano. Here the Aganzi were attacked by the enemy, and a small skirmish took place, in which as many were killed on one side as on the other, and twelve prisoners were brought to the headquarters of the Turk. The rest of the garrison, not waiting to be attacked, departed, leaving the castle undamaged, where the army arrived, but not delaying to besiege fortified places, proceeded on its way, leaving on the left not very far distant a city called Ceiliuasnr,⁶ situated among mountains in a valley surrounded by many villages. Still advancing, we

¹ The Ikindjis, irregular troops.

² Amasia, birthplace of Strabo and Mithridates.

³ Sivas. See Zeno, p. 23.

⁴ The Iris or Kizzil Irnak.

⁵ Niksar.

⁶ Koili Nissar. See Zeno, p. 23.

arrived on the slope of a high mountain at another city named Careafar,¹ where alum is found ; the army encamped half a mile from this city, and the cavalry scoured and ravaged the country, so that the greater part of the peasants, with their cattle and goods, fled to the strongholds in the mountains and other safe places. Having raised the camp and continued our march, we arrived at a large plain, in which is the city of Argian,² on a site a little elevated above the plain, which is called the country of Arsingan.³ But, as the city was not fortified, the inhabitants had fled across the river Euphrates. Nevertheless, some few remained, among whom was found, on the arrival of the Aganzi, an aged Armenian, in a church, surrounded by many books ; and, although those who found him called to him several times, he did not answer, but continued most attentively reading the books before him, and the anger of the soldiers being aroused, he was killed and the church burnt over him, with which the Grand Turk, on hearing it, was very indignant ; as it was said that this man was a great philosopher.

Continuing our journey through this country of Arsiugan, which is a part of Lesser Armenia, and approaching the river Euphrates not very far from Malacia,⁴ which journey we performed in eight days, and the army having already halted about the hour of nine, behold thereto arrived eleven dromedaries coming with presents from the lord of Sit, and from the Soldan, and on these dromedaries were men closely wrapped up in white cloth, as otherwise they could not bear riding these animals, as the great pack would shake their persons too much. Of these eleven men some wore white, and others black, and the first of them had in his hand an arrow, on the point of which was fixed a note ; all the others had

¹ Shebban Kara Nissar. The alum mines are still worked, but yield little revenue. See Zeno, p. 23.

² Probably Egin. See Zeno, p. 23.

³ Erzingan.

⁴ Malatia.

before them a covored box, with various sweetmeats inside ; others carried bread and cooked meat, whlich was still hot. When they arrived at the pavilion of the Turk, without alighting or stopping, they put down the note and the boxes, and said that they had come ninety miles in six hours. Their answor was given them without speaking, in another note fixed on the same arrow ; and when they departed, it seemed as if they disappeared before our eyes, so marvellous is the speed of those animals.

CHAP. VII.—The Grand Turk, arriving at the river Euphrates, determines to cross, and orders Asmurat to force a passage with his men, whereupon he is defeated by the Persians.

Now on arriving at the river Euphrates, and marching north-east along its bank, we perccivod that Ussuncassano had arrived with his army on the other side, at the spot where ho thought that the Turk would cross. The river was wider in this place—divided into many streams hy banks of mud ; here the armies encampod opposite each other, with the stream separating them. Ussuncassano had an immonso army, and with him were three of his sons, the first named Calul,¹ the second Ugurlimehemet,² and the third Zeinol, and also Pirahomat, the prince of Caramania, and many other lords and men of various nationalities, namely, Persians, Parthians, Albanians (?), Georgians, and Tartars. On Ussuccassano's seeing the Turkish army encamped, he was quite astonished at the multitude, and stood some time without speaking, and then said in the Persian language, "Bay-cahexen nedo riadir," which means, "O, son of a whore, what a sea !" comparing tho Turkish army to an ocean. On the same day that the armics encamped in this plac, about nine, it was decided to attempt a passage and to attack the

¹ Khalul.

² Called Unghermaumet in Zeno.

enemy, and that Asmurat,¹ Beglerbeg of Romania shoud attempt it with all his men, and, as he was young, Mahumut Bassa was given him as a colleague. Then having raised the standards, sounded the drums, the naccare, and other warlike instruments, they began to cross, swimming over certain streams, and going from sandhank to sandhank, and so arrived nearly at the other side of tho river.

Ussuncassano, seeing that the Turkish troops began to cross, and were already near bis bank, sent a body of his own men against them, who also entered a good way into the river; but as a deep stream separated them, thoy began the fight with arrows. Still the Turks, wishing to cross, made great exertions; and a part of them crossing the stream, camo to hlow with tho Persians, the fight lasting more than three hours, with great slaughter on both sides. The Persians being nearest their hank of the river, easily received support from their own people; while the Turks, being only able to cross hy a narrow ford, arrived a few at a time, swimming over with their horses, many also being drowned hy the rush of water which carried them away from the ford. At length the Turks were overcome by the Persians, and made to retreat, recrossing the stream in their flight. Ma- bnmnt Bassa, who was on a bank, half a mile distant from the place whero they were fighting, not only did not give them assistance, but retreated across several streams to another sandhank. The Persians pursued the Turks, killing and taking prisoners; and the Turks in their flight got into disorder, and blocked np the passage, many heing drowned by falling into the whirlpools of which there are a great many in this rivcr, and amoug others Asmurat, Beglerbeg of Romania. When he, with many others, fell into a large whirlpool, the Turks, and in particular his slaves and retainers, endeavouring to assist him, made bead, and attacted the Persians again. And numbers of them being

¹ Amurath Palæologus.

killed and drowned, the Persians crossing several streams in pursuit of the Turks, arrived at a muddy bank on which Mahumut Bassa had formed many squadrons, and where the contest was renewed.

But the Persians, with all their efforts, could gain no ground in the hand to hand fight that ensued with the troops of Mahumut, neither party gaining the least advantage. And as the evening began to come on, and the day to close, the Turk, who the whole time with all the rest of the army had been under arms on the bank of the river, sounded a retreat, and Ussuncassano, who had been also under arms on the other bank, did the same. And the retreat being sounded on both sides, each withdrew without any further attack; still Ussuncassano had the best of the fight, as of his men fewer were killed, but few drowned, and not one taken prisoner. But on our side, when the muster was made, there were twelve thousand men missing, among whom were several persons of note. Sentinels were posted on the banks of the river, the Persians doing the same, as both parties were apprehensive of an attack.

The Turkish monarch was very indignant that Mahumut Bassa had retired from one bank to another instead of giving assistance to Asmurat, and suspected that he had done so on purpose, not being very friendly with him. Nevertheless, the Turk did not at this time show ill-will towards Mahumut, as neither the time nor place appeared convenient, but principally because this Mahumut¹ was beloved by all; dissimulating now, he awaited the time that he could punish him without risk to himself, which happened six months later, when he caused him to be strangled with a bowstring.

¹ Knolles, in his *History of the Turks*, says that a great Pasha Mahomet was assassinated by the janissaries on the accession of Bajazet II to the throne, but makes no mention of this incident.

CHAP. VIII.—Ussun Cassano pursues the Turk, who, after his defeat, returns to his country, and a battle takes place, in which, by the flight of Ussun Cassano from the army, the Persians are routed, and the Grand Turk remains victorious.

Having suffered this defeat, the Turk became very apprehensive, and determined to lead his army back to his country by the shortest route; and, to console his soldiers, besides their usual pay, he gave them another advance, making them a present of the former one which he had given at his departure. Also he liberated all his slaves that were in the camp, on the condition that none should abscond him, but should serve him like the other troops, who are not slaves, and who can do what they like with their own; he made many other concessions to the captains. The army having started, we marched along the bank of the river, and the Persians did the same on the other side, not attempting to cross, but keeping on their guard, seeing that the Turkish army was still larger than theirs; nevertheless, as was afterwards reported, Ussuncassano was incited by his sons and the other commanders to cross the river and attack us, as we were in flight in consequence of the defeat we had sustained, many consultations being held about it. At the end of about ten days the Turkish forces, having turned away from the river, with the city of Bayhret¹ on their right, among the mountains which separate Greater and Lesser Armenia, took their way towards the north-west, entering a valley on the route to Trebizond. At the second halt we made after entering the valley, at the end of August, at the fourteenth hour of the day, behold the Persians appeared on the mountains on our right.²

Then the Turk faced round towards the enemy, and gained the heights, but first fortified the camp, leaving the brother of the ruler of Scandeloro, named Eustraf, to guard it and

¹ Baibort. See Zeno, p. 26.

² Tabedala.

tha haggaga-waggons. All tha arrangements heing made, he marched hy tho mountains towards the enemy, placing Dant Bassa Beglerbeg of Natolia, with his wholo colnmn, and all those of Romania who remained from the first rout iu the van, Bajesit, tho Grand Turk's oldest son, heing on the right of his father, and Mustafa, tho second, on tha lcft. Thus marching over mountains and rocky ground, we arrived at a valley on the othor sida of which tho Persians wera drawn up, with a very axeuded line, opposite which the Grand Turk had his men arrayed. Then both sides sounded a conntless nnmher of naccare, drums, and other warlike instruments, tha noise and din heing so graat that ono had to hear it to imagine it. The slopes of the valley whero the armies fronted each other were easy of ascent and descent ; it was a qnartar of a milo wide and rather long, in a wild sitnation among mountains.

Here hegan a stuhhorn contest, first one party and then tho other repulsing the enemy, each giving assistance to their own sida wherever tha need was greatest, until Pirahomat, priuce of Caramania, who was on Ussuncassano's right, after a fiorca resistance, was daseated hy Mustafa, son of the Grand Trnk, and recoiling on the flank of Ussuncassano, who, fearing to be surrounded, which might easily have happened, from tha snperiority of tha Trnks on evary side, and principally on tha right, where the great captain Mustafa fought, hegan to get vary mnch afraid, monnted an Arah mare, and in a very short tima took to flight. In this way they were ronted and chased as far as tha tents, which wore nearly ten miles off iu a plain, and soma of the prisoners takon at tha rout of tho fords were rescuad.¹ Tho tents were also plundared aud an immonse hooty taken, and among the slain was a son of Ussuncassano named Zeinol, whose head was presented to the Turk hy a foot-soldier

¹ How this happened it is not easy to understand, as Zeno says the Persian king pursued the Turks with only a flying column.

who had killed him in the battle ; since this prince Zcinol, leaving his father when he mounted the mare, entered among the infantry, and was surrounded and slain with many of his followers. This was a great rout, about ten thousand of the Persians being killed, and many more taken prisoners, of whom some were put to death each day.

The night was all spent in rejoicing, with houfires, and music, and shouting. But because Mustafà the Sultan's son had pursued Ussun Cassano, and it was now the second hour of the night, the Turk became anxious, and sent some couriers after him, with whom he returned. His father came out of his tent with a cup of gold full of julep, which he presented to him with his own hand, kissing him and commanding him greatly for his bearing and valour. This battle lasted eight continuous hours before the Persians were put to rout, and if it had not been for Mustafà and Ussun Cassano's cowardly flight, they might not have lost. In this battle, of Turks there were in all about one thousand killed.¹ There were found in the baggage-waggons of Ussun Cassano some vases of gold, with their sheaths covered with copper, and other vases of gold and silver ; there were also some fine suits of armour, made at Syras,² quite master-pieces, like mirrors, with gilt borders wonderfully polished and a marvel to behold. They also captured a thousand horses and a great number of camels. I must not omit to mention that in this battle Ugurlimhemet, Ussun Cassano's second son, came with a great number of men to assail our camp, but he also was repulsed by the lord Cusors³ and the rest of the garrison, and so much so that he narrowly escaped being taken prisoner, but got away through his acquaintance with the country. Thus if Ussun Cassano had remained content with his first victory, the Turk would have gone

¹ Zeno says fourteen thousand.

² Shiraz ; it has still a great manufacture of sword-blades and armour.

³ See p. 89. Enstraf ?

nway ignominiously, and he would not have lost the territories he did.

Having rested the army for three days, the Turk resolved to go back again by the way he had come. Therefore, raising his camp, he marched towards Baibret,¹ where, on account of the rout of Ussun Cnssano, he found that the inhabitants of this city and of the surrounding country had fled to the strongholds in the mountains. Nevertheless, the Aganzi took some prisoners and plunder, and some of these Aganzi were assailed by the Persians, and the prisoners and booty recaptured. On being pursued they retired to the city of Bnibret. And the Persians following in pursuit, the Aganzi defended the place, the whole of one night and half of the following day, until the news came to the army, when relief was sent to them. The Persians hearing this, went off, not wishing to await the attack. Proceeding on the march, we arrived on the banks of the great river Enphrates, finding the castles and villages all abandoned, and a good many of them burnt. Coming to the ford, the Aganzi crossed without opposition, and traversed the country on the opposite shore for one day's journey in distance, seizing some small flocks as booty. When they returned to the camp we directed our route towards Erfenia,² a city in front, which had been abandoned; here we fixed our camp for one night, and four days after leaving it we arrived at Carassar,³ which is situated on a black mountain, and has a very strong natural position, from having high precipices all round, except on one side, where there is one place that one can get up to the gate by a tortuous and rocky path. Having encamped here, the people of the place stood silently on the walls provided with sharp pikes and many bows; at first they would not listen or speak to any one, but fired and hit everyone who approached, so that they were obliged to

¹ Baibort.

² Erzeroum or Erzingau.

³ Shebban Kara Hissar.

direct five cannon against them. Two of these were drawn up a hill not very far from the city, and did great harm. And after they had bombarded it fifteen days, and killed a considerable number of the people of the place, the latter were obliged to capitulate. The governor of it was named Aarap,¹ a retainer of prince Zeinel, the son of Ussun Cassano, who was killed in the above-mentioned battle, and who possessed this Sangiacato² or territory. Aarap, hearing that his master was dead and his head being shown him, wept bitterly, and then, with some of the inhabitants, determined to make sure of his life and property. The Turk promised him the conditions, and the seventeenth day after we encamped there surrendered the place, and we returned, taking Aarap with us, who, however, was shortly afterwards restored to liberty, the Turk giving him a Sangiacato on the borders of Hungary. In fact, if he had held out eight days longer, we should have been forced to raise the siege from want of provisions, and principally of fodder for the horses, which had to be fed on oak leaves and twigs cut small.

The army, marching thence, came to the city of Coliasar³, which town, bearing that the strong fortress of Carcasar had surrendered, and that prince Zeinel had been killed, sent ambassadors and surrendered to the Turk, while Nieser⁴ did the same. All necessary provisions having been made for their government, the army proceeded and arrived at Sivas.

CHAR. IX.—Assambci, being defeated, returns to Tauris; the following year he goes into the country; his son rebels, and flies to the Grand Turk; but Ussun Cassano, causing a report to be spread of his death, induces him to return to Tauris, where he causes him to be put to death.

After this defeat Assambci returned to Tauris. In 1473 M. Josaphat Barbnro arrived, who relates that the lord

¹ Called Darap by Zeno.

² Sanjak.

³ Koili, or Koyumlu Ilissar.

⁴ Niksar.

Assamhei, after remaining quiet that year, in the following year, 1474, determined to go with his people into the country, as was his wont. He accordingly asked this M. Josaphat if he would accompany him, and as he said he would, they therefore set out together. In the month of May, therefore, the lord Ussun Cassano set out with his troops, the number being twenty-five thousand foot-soldiers, eighteen thousand country-people, three thousand tents, six thousand camels, thirty thousand baggage mules, five thousand riding mules, two thousand baggage horses, five thousand women, three thousand hoyas and maid-servants, and many animals of different kinds. These all went into the country, and found plenty of pasture. This was his standing army; I leave you to judge of the number he could levy on an emergency.

While the lord Assambei was in the country near Sultania, the news came to him that Ugurlimehemet, his son, had seized Syras. The king Assambei having heard this, immediately raised his camp and marched towards Syras. His son, hearing that his father was coming against him with a large army, fled, and leaving his dominions, escaped with his wife and all his family into the Turkish territory, where he sent messengers to beg a safe-conduct from the Sultan Baiesit, who had his residence not far from Ussun Cassano's frontiers. Baiesit immediately sent to let his father know, who approved of giving the safe-conduct, but told him that by no means should he go out of the territory of Amasia to meet him, but should show him every other honour, while still keeping an eye upon his actions, from fear of Persian treachery. And you may know that the city of Syras,¹ which this same Ugurlimehemet had taken from his father, is the most important city of Persia on the frontiers near Chirmas,² and is walled with stone. It is twenty

¹ Shiraz, a far more important town then than it is now.

² Keruan.

miles in circumference, and has two hundred thousand inhabitants. It has a great trade, with manufactures of arms, saddles, bridles, and all equipments of men, as well as horses, and supplying Soria,¹ Constantiaople, and all the East with them. Ugurlimehemet having thus escaped to Sivas, sent his wife with his small family in advance, to avert every suspicion his coming might awaken, while he himself followed with three hundred horsemen. He was favourably received by Baiesit, who embraced him and made sumptuous feasts in his honour. Some days after, Ugurlimehemet left with his troop, and having arrived at Usulhuder, the Grand Turk sent a guard of honour to meet him, with whom he proceeded to Constaatiaople. Here he was honorably lodged, and provided with sustenance both for himself and suite at the expense of the Grand Turk, who then opened his court, and arriving at the place in which he was accustomed to give audiences, Ugurlimehemet came to the court to visit the monarch whom he had not yet seen. The Grand Turk sent councillors and captains to meet him, and commanded that he should be permitted to come on horseback into the second seraglio, which it is the custom for no one to enter except the monarch; and that when he dismounted he should be admitted to his presence girt with his sword, which no one is permitted to wear, however great a lord he may be, not even the princes themselves. On the entry of Ugurlimehemet, the Grand Turk rose from his seat, and greeted him kindly, and made him sit down beside him, where they conversed on different subjects for the space of an hour, Mahomet calling him "son", and making many proposals to him. On this occasion he left without asking any safe-conduct or any other favour; but after visiting the monarch several times, he thought fit to ask for a command on the Hungarian frontiers, promising to be always a good and faithful subject. The Grand Turk replied that he would

¹ Syria.

make him King of Persia in the room of his father, who was his enemy ; and giving him troops and means of commencing operations, sent him to Sivas, on the boundary between the Grand Turk and Ussun Cassano. Ugurlimehemet having arrived on the frontiers, was but a short time before he began to make incursions and forays, doing great damage to his father's territory, who sent troops to protect his dominions, without, however, showing much interest in this expedition against his son. On the contrary, he feigned great grief and mortification on account of his rebellion, and then gave out that he had fallen ill. He then retired to his apartments for some days, and would not allow himself to be visited by anybody but those in whom he could trust. While thus dissembling, a report was spread abroad to Constantinople, that Ussun Cassano had fallen dangerously ill from melancholy, on account of the rebellion of his son, and a rumour of his having got worse being whispered about, some of his most faithful adherents, as had been arranged, announced his death, while messengers were sent to Ugurlimehemet with letters and tokens, as is customary, giving information of the death of his father, and begging him to return and take possession of the throne, before either of his brothers, Halil or Jacob,¹ could do so. And in order to give greater semblance to the affair, funeral rites were paid, and his death was really believed in throughout the country. Ugurlimehemet having received three different messages, with secret pledges such as are used in affairs of state, thought it safe to go to Tauris. He arrived there in a few days with a small escort, and on going to the palace to make himself sovereign, was taken to where his father was in perfect health, who ordered him to be confined, and afterwards put to death, without showing any consideration for his being his son.

¹ Khaleel and Yakooh.

CHAP. X.—Assambei goes to ravage the country of the Georgians, and having made them pay tribute, returns to Tauris, where he dies. One of his captains defeats the Mamalukes.

These things happening in the year 1475, Assambei remained at peace till 1477, when he assembled a large army, giving out that he was going to attack the Ottoman, when in fact he meant to ravage Georgia. His troops consisted of about twenty or four and twenty thousand horsemen, and about eleven thousand foot soldiers. I have already made mention of the numbers of women, children, camp-followers, and others; so I shall say nothing about them. Marching for seven days in a westerly direction, they turned off to the right towards Georgia, which country the king wished to plunder, because the Georgians had given him no assistance in his war with the Turk. According to their custom, he sent forward his light cavalry, about five thousand strong, who on their march went burning and cutting down the woods, as they had to cross mountains and pass through immense forests. After two days' journey through Georgia¹ we found a castle named Tiflis, commanding a pass, but deserted, which we took without any resistance. And advancing to Geri² and other places in the vicinity, he sacked them and also ravaged a great part of the country. The chief, Pancratio, with the King of Congiurre, which borders on Georgia, and seven other lords, sent to sue for peace, and agreed to pay a tribute of sixteen thousand ducats, while Assambei promised to leave the country free, except Tiflis,³ which he wished to keep from the importance of its position. The prisoners taken were about five thousand. The peace being made, and the payment of tribute being

¹ Angiolello had evidently by this time left the Turkish camp and joined the Persians.

² Gori.

³ Tiflis, the present capital Russian Trans-Caucasia, on the river Kur, was founded in 1063. It has a population of fifty thousand, and, under the Russian sway, has become almost like a European town.

settled, Assamhei returned to Tauris, and died in the year 1478, leaving four sons: three by one mother and one by the Princess of Trebizond. This prince, who was twenty years of age, was strangled by his three brothers, who divided the realm among them, after which the second, named Jacob Patissa,¹ made a coalition with the eldest, named Marco;² whereupon the youngest fled, and Jacob made himself sovereign, ascending the throne in 1479.

In the year 1482 (?) it happened that the people of Amit,³ the principal city of Diarbekr, heard that the Mamelukes had seized and plundered Orfa,⁴ doing great damage to all the country. The general of Assamhei determined to go against them, crossed with his troops some mountains between Amit and Orfa, and entered the plains of Orfa, three days' journey from Amit. The Mamelukes hearing this put themselves in order of battle, and the two armies marching to meet each other, at length joined battle, the contest lasting till midday. Though both armies in turn repulsed the enemy, the Persians came off victors, cutting to pieces more than half of the Mamelukes, with many lords. The Persians following up their victory, advanced to Alhir,⁵ and took it with many other fortresses, finding immense booty; they then returned to Tauris, where they found that the King Assamhei had died on the eve of Epiphany in the year 1487 (1478).

CHAP. XI.—Jacob, the son of Assamhei, on ascending the throne takes a wife of a wicked disposition, who, to raise her paramour to the throne, gives the king poison, which also causes her own death and that of her son.

Jacob Patissa, as I have already mentioned, after the death of his father, made himself master of Tauris and

¹ Padishah.

² Khaleel is generally called the eldest of Uzun Hassan's sons.

³ Amida, present Diarbekr.

⁴ Orfa. See *Travels of a Merchant*, cap. 2.

⁵ Birjik, or Bir, ancient Apamea. See *Travels of a Merchant*, cap. 2.

Persia, and took for wife a daughter of the lord of San Mntra, who was of a lascivious disposition, and heing enamoured of one of the principal lords of the court, sought wickedly to put her husband to death, that after his decease this lord might succeed to the throne. Then, having arranged a plan with her paramour for murdering Jacob, she prepared poison. The adulteress prepared a bath, as usual, with perfumes, knowing her husband's habits, who, with his son of eight or nine years of age, entered the hath and remained from the twenty-second hour of the day, till sunset. When Jacob Sultan came ont and entered the ladies' seraglio, his wife, who had prepared a poisoned cup, knowing that Jacob was always accustomed to drink on coming out of the bath, came to meet him with a gold cup in which she had put the poison, appearing more friendly than usual. But he, seeing her face rather pale, became suspicious, as he had already seen some evil symptoms in her that day ; but the wicked woman had dissimulated and excused herself so well, that he partly helieved her, although his suspicions were not altogether cleared up. Therefore, when the lady came to meet him with such a pallid countenance holding the cup, Jacob commanded her to taste it first. The terrified woman could not refuse, and after she had drunk, her husband drank also, giving some to the little hoy. This happened at the twenty-fourth hour of the day, and so noxious was the beverage, that by midnight they wero all dead. The death of these three personages heing announced the following day, all the great lords wero thrown into consternation, and also the whole of Persia. Many of Jacob's relatives seized different places, as you shall hear. After the death of Jacob Patissa, thore being no other son of Assamhei, the throno was seized hy a lord, a relation of Jacob, namod Julauer, who, althongh he reigned three years, did nothing of importance. To him succeeded a Bay-

singir,¹ who reigned two years. Rustan, a youth about twenty years of age, succeeded him and reigned seven years; in his time the father of the Sophi was killed, as the king himself was afterwards by the hands of a lord with the connivance of his own mother, with whom this lord, named Agmat,² was in love, who, after the death of Rustan, made himself king, and reigned five months. After Rustan's murder his troops joined one of his captains, named Carahes, who lived at Van, and who, hearing of the king's death and the succession, after hiding his time, marched to Tanris, met this Agmat, and cut him to pieces. The kingdom now came to a youth named Aluan,³ a relation of Ussun Cassano, who lived at Amit, whence he was summoned by the popular voice, and made king, but reigned only a short time, being expelled by the Sophi.

CHAP. XII.—Sechaidar, the father of the Sophi, marches against Rustan King of Persia, but is defeated and slain; Rustan sends to take his wife and three sons, and gives them in custody, but the latter escape.

During the reign of Rustan in Tauris, Sechaidar,⁴ the father of the Sophi, who had married a daughter of the King Assambei, through his wife, became rightful heir of the realm of Persia.⁵ He resolved to raise an army and drive out Rustan, and for this purpose collected a number of Sufiaveans, who all followed him as their chief and also because he was considered a saint; he was accustomed to reside in the city of Ardouil,⁶ three days' journey distant from Tauris, towards the East, like an abbot with a number of

¹ Baisongor.

² Ahmed.

³ Elhan-Alwung, or Alumut, son of Sultan Yakoob.

⁴ Sheikh Hyder.

⁵ There were sons of Shah Yakoob living, namely, Aluan Beg and Morad Khan, who were more direct descendants of Uzun Hassan.

⁶ Ardehil.

disciples. Having assembled an army of twenty-two thousand men, he marched towards Tauris;¹ but the King Rustan having heard of the preparations of the enemy, had also raised an army of fifty thousand men, and as he himself was very young, he gave the command in this enterprise against Sechaidar to one of his captains, named Sulimanhec. Sechaidar, hearing that the hostile army was more powerful than his, retreated to a place named Van, near Coi,² expecting to be joined from the West by some other chiefs, hostile to Rustan. But such was the rapidity of Sulimanhec, Rustan's general, that Sechaidar was forced to join battle without waiting for further reinforcements, and a fierce contest began.³ The Saffaveans fought like lions; nevertheless, at length after numbers of men had been killed on both sides, those of Tauris came off victorious, Sechaidar being killed with numbers of his men. After the rout they sought out the body of Sechaidar, which was found by an Armenian priest and taken to Ardeuil to be buried. In Tauris the victory caused great rejoicings. Rustan, hearing the news of the defeat of the enemy, and the death of Sechaidar, sent immediately to Ardouil to seize his wife and three sons, and wished to put them to death; but to please some lords, they were liberated, keeping them, however, in charge in an island in the lake of Astumar,⁴ inhabited by Armenian Christians. There are there more than six hundred houses, a church named after the Holy Cross, in which are more than a hundred priests governed by a patriarch. Here, then, were sent the three sons of Sechaidar, but tho

¹ The other authors give a different account; they expressly state that Sheikh Hyder was not up in arms against the king, whatever his ulterior object may have been, but was engaged in an expedition into Circassia.

² Khoi.

³ Zeno says the battle took place near Derbend—far enough, certainly, from Van.

⁴ Ak Tammar, the Van Lake, so called by the Armenians. The island is, to this day, the seat of the Catholicos, and is fully described by Layard.

mother remained in Tauris, and was married for the second time to a lord who was an enemy of her former husband. The sons remained three years in the island; but Rustan, being apprehensive of their escape, and being persuaded by some of his friends to put them to death, sent to take them. The day that the messenger asked for them on behalf of Rustan, they were given up to him by the Armenians, although very reluctantly, as they were very much beloved, especially Ismael the second, for his beauty and pleasing manners. After they had given them up (notice well the influence of Providence to carry out what it has determined) one of the principal Armenians addressed the others, saying, "We have given up these boys to this messenger without having seen any command from the King Rustan; it may easily happen that we have been deceived, and that they may be taken away and escape somewhere, so that we would receive great blame, and our sovereign might well say, 'Where is my order'. Thus it is my opinion that we ought not to deliver them to him unless he brings credentials in writings, which we may keep for security." All the others agreed to this, more especially because they were very loth to give them up. Then they told the messenger to bring credentials from the king; and as it was some distance thence to Tauris, he was more than seven days before he returned. During this time the boys and their¹ mother were conducted in a boat from the island to the country of Carabas² on the east. This country borders on Sumachia³ and Ardouil, which belonged to the father of these boys, and its inhabitants are for the most part Suffracans, and had great reverence for the father. Here they were hidden without anyone hearing anything of them for

¹ See above, where it is stated that their mother was married a second time; and page 105, where it is said Ismail put her to death. It is more probable that another of their father's wives is denoted in these other cases.

² Kar Bagh.

³ Schamachi.

the space of five years. Ismael at this time was nine years old, and when he attacked Sumacchia was not quite fourteen.¹

CHAP. XIII.—How Ismael, the son of Haidar, was born and brought up; he becomes a captain, attacks and defeats Sermangoli, possessing himself of his realm; he marches against, and takes Tauris.

During these five years these hoys were incited hy many of their father's friends, who came to visit them, to assemhle troops to recover his possessions; having collected five hundred brave and faithful men, and the whole country hoing friendly disposed towards them, they elected Ismael their captain, as he was a fiery, brave, and courteous youth. This Ismael, when he was born, issned from his mother's womb with fists clenched and covered with blood: a remarkahle fact, and when his father saw him, he said, "Surely he will grow up a had man"; and agreed with his mother that he should not hc reared; hut God disposed otherwise, as when they sent him away to he put to death, those who were charged with the deed, tonched by his beauty, had pity on him and brought him np. After three years the boy giving great promise, they determined to show him to his father, and when an opportunity occurred they placed him before him, and when, he heing taken with him, asked who he was, they told him he was his son, at which he was delighted, and received him with great show of affection.

Then, having assemhled five hundred horse and foot soldiers, they crossed a large river called tho Cur,² flowing in the direction of Sumacchia,³ into the Caspian Soa; then marching towards Sumacchi they received intelligence that the lord of that place, named Sermangoli, was assembling

¹ Vide *Travels of a Merchant*, cap. 13.

² Kur, or Cyrus.

³ Schamachi.

his chiefs to collect an army against them. One of these chiefs said, "Sire, leave the business to me, and I will engage to bring you this fellow's head"; and, then collecting seven thousand men, marched against him. The Suffueans, seeing the Sumacchians coming against them in great force in a plain, retreated to the top of a hill. The Sumacchians surrounded it to besiege the enemy, but fortune was propitious to the Sophi, who attacked them in the weakest quarter, and intending to fall sword in hand, their assault was so impetuous that fifteen hundred of the enemy surrendered at once, the others being cut to pieces. The Suffueans provided themselves with arms and horses from the booty, and followed up their victory, by marching towards Sumacchia. The king, hearing of this defeat, issued into the plain with the rest of his men; but, being without discipline, they were routed, and the King Sermangoli taken prisoner. Ismael spared his life, and having captured the city, made great presents to his soldiers; he also took the other numerous fortresses in the country of Sermangoli. Ismael having made himself lord of this country, besieged a castle called Pucosco on the way to Tauris, a very rich place, which he took by assault (his younger brother, Bassingur, being killed in the fight), and gave all the wealth they found in the place to his soldiers. Hence, the fame was spread abroad, that Ismael, the son of Sechaidar, had recovered his dominions, and that his liberality to his men made them devoted to him; and an almost incredible number of people joined him; thus, having about forty thousand men¹ under him, he determined to march on Tauris. Before he set out he inquired what the Greeks did, when they held the empire of Persia; and hearing that they would not harm the country in anything, but were friendly to everyone, he then marched to Tauris, committing such severities that everyone was

¹ Zeno, p. 51, says he had only sixteen thousand men under him after being joined by the Georgians.

thrown into mortal terror and dared not take up arms against him. Aluan, who was then king, seeing that he could not defend himself from the fury of the enemy, resolved to fly. Taking with him his wife and treasure, he went to Amit, his former city.¹ Thus, in 1499, in the eeme yeer, and eix monthe from the commencement of the war, the Sophi made himself master of Tauris. On his entry he used great cruelty towards the opposing faction, as he cut to pieces many people, doctors, women, and children; wherefore, all the surrounding placos sent in their allegiance, and all the city wore his ensign, that is, the red caften; in this war more than twenty thousand people were killed. He then caused the bones of several lords who were already dead to be disinterred and burnt; he put to death his own mother,² recollecting, as he had been told, that she had wished to kill him after his birth, and also because she was by birth of the opposing faction.

CHAP. XIV.—Ismael raises war against Moratcan, defeats him, and makes himself king. After his victory he is advised to marry, which he does, and then attacks Bagadet, is victorious, and thus becomes master of many countries.

Ismael having remained all the winter at Tauris, in 1500, early in the year, determined to go against a certain Moratcan,³ who had seized the country of Erach⁴ after the death of Jecob, which country comprises Spaan, Ies, and Syras,⁵ with many other cities, which used to be under the dominion of the kings of Persie. He therefore assembled an army of twenty thousand men, all brave Suffaveans, and, marching towards the enemy's country, he heard that Moratcan was prepared to receive him with fifty thousand men. Never-

¹ Diarbekr, the hereditary city of the Ak Koinloos.

² Step-mother, according to Zeno, which is certainly more probable.

³ Morad Khan, brother of Aluan Beg.

⁴ Irak-el Ajim.

⁵ Ispahan, Yezd, and Shiraz.

theless, he continued his route to Chizaron, having advanced a long way from Tauris, and from thence to Syras, bordering on the country of Carason¹ or Gon. Here they met in battle, and at length Moratcan was killed² and his men defeated and dispersed, when Ismael made himself master of all those realms. After this victory, before returning to Tauris, all his friends counselled him to marry; but while he was considering this step, they could find no lady worthy of such a match. At length, after many discussions, they said that a certain lord had a lady in his house, a granddaughter of Sultan Jacob, the son of Ussun Cassano, who was beautiful, and named Taslucannm; wherefore, he sent to the lord demanding her of him. The lord replied to the messengers that she was not there; but Ismael, insisting on her being sent, the lord had another dressed up instead of her, saying he had no other in the house. The messengers, seeing that she did not correspond to the description given of her, said that it was not this one that they wanted, and ordered all the girls to be brought, among whom was Tsslucannm, but went away without recognising her. The Sophi ordered them to return and have the girls shown again, which they did, and recognised her this time, and had her dressed up and brought with them. Ismael, when he saw her, said "This is she I was told of"; and took her for wife. But, as the king was very young, only fifteen or sixteen years old, he gave her to a lord to take care of. After three years the king asked for her, and said to the lord, "You have been able to do just as you liked with her during three years." He replied, "Sire, do not believe it; I would sooner kill myself". The Sophi said, "You have been a great fool"; and took her as his wife. After the Sophi had conquered the country of Erach, he returned to Tauris in 1501, and caused

¹ Khorassan.

² The other authors agree in stating that he escaped to Alla-ed Douleh's country; at any rate, he was no further trouble to Ismail Sofi.

great rejoicings to be made on account of his victory. The following year he determined to invade the country of Bagadet, three hundred miles distant from Tauris towards the south and south-west, a large district, and having assembled an army, he set out. The lord¹ of the country held himself in readiness with many troops, not in the field, but in the city of Baldac,² anciently called Babylon the Great, through the midst of which flows the river Euphrates. The king, arriving two miles distant from it, one night a great part of the wall fell down, and caused so great a panic in the city, that everyone fled. The lord also was forced to fly across the sandy plains of Arabia Deserta, sixteen days' journey in extent, from Baldac to Damascus, and thence to Aleppo, where, after residing some time, the Prince Aladuli gave him his daughter in marriage, and settled him there. The Sophi remained in Baldac and took the land of Bagadot, and afterwards Mosul and Gresire,³ a large city, through which the river Tigris flows. This is also called the country of Mesopotamia. The Sophi having made these conquests in 1503, returned to Tauris and made great feasts and rejoicings in honour of his victory. While he was in Tauris, after his return in 1504, he heard that while he was away at Mosul and Bagadet the King of Gilan had rebelled, and, determining to be revenged, he prepared an army and marched against him. Hearing this the King of Gilan sent ambassadors to him immediately, asking pardon. With great reluctance, after many outreaties, the Sophi pardoned him, but doubled the tribute. He then returned, and remained in peace and quiet till the year 1507.

¹ Morad Khan.

² Bagdad is situated on the Tigris, not the Euphrates, but the modern city of Hillah is supposed to represent the site of the ancient Babylon.

³ Jezireh ebn Omar on the Tigris. See *Travels of a Merchant*, cap. 4.

CHAP. XV.—Ismael goes against Alidoli; ruins his country and people. Aluan, who had escaped from Tauris, is taken prisoner. The son of Alidoli is killed at the capture of the city. Then, repulsing the Great Khan of Tartary when invading Persia, he returns to Tauris, and causes great feasts and rejoicings to be held.

Tha Sophi, having under his sway a part of the country of Diarhec, that is, Orfa, Moredin,¹ Arsnncieff,² and other places, and hearing continually that Ahnadulat³ was ravaging that part of the country, and had taken tha city of Cartibiert,⁴ placiug one of his sons in it, determined to maka an expedition against this Ahnadulat; since these places had always baen nnder the sway of Persia, until this Alidoli,⁵ after the death of Jacob, whilo Persia was in a state of anarchy, had saized them. Then, having assambled savanty thousand men, he marchad towards Arsingan,⁶ a fina city on tho horders of Trehizond and Natolia. Having arrived here, ha halted forty days, fearing lest the Ottoman and tha Soldan should take into their heads to dafend Alidoli, as his country was on the frontiers of both. While in this donht, ha sent two ambassadors, one named Culichech,⁷ to the Ottoman Emperor of Constantinopla; and tha other named Zaccarabach,⁸ to tha Soldan of Cairo, awearing by his head and other oaths that ha wold do them no harm, hut that ha only wished to destroy his enemy Alidolit. After forty days Ismael left Arsingan, from which place it is four days' journay to tha contry of Alidoli. But ha would not take

¹ Orfa and Mardin. See *Travels of a Merchant*, caps. 2 and 4.

² Hesn Keyf, Ciphas of Procopius. Baldwin de Bourg and Jocelyn do Courtenay were confined here after their capture hy Sookman, the Ortokide lord of the place, and Dejekermish, lord of Mosul. See *Travels of a Merchant*, cap. 4.

³ Alla-ed Douleh.

⁴ Kharput. Jocelyn was again captured, together with his kinsman, by Balak, the Ortokide, and confined in this place. See *Travels of a Merchant*, cap. 3.

⁵ Alla-ed Douleh, written "Ahnadulat" above.

⁶ Erzingan.

⁷ Ko-li Beg.

⁸ Zekkaria Beg.

the ordinary route, but went to Caisaria,¹ a city belonging to the Ottoman, where he supplied himself with provisions, paying for everything, and proclaiming abroad that everyone might bring supplies to the camp for sale, and that anyone taking anything without paying for it, would be put to death. In this city he remained four days, and then advanced to Albustan,² situated on a river³ and in a beautiful plain, and belonging to Alidoli. From this to Maras⁴ is a journey of two days, and after burning the country of Albustan, he advanced to Maras. But Alidoli had disappeared, and retired to some strongholds in the mountains. These mountains are called Carathas,⁵ and have only one very difficult pass. Ismael ravaged the country, and cut to pieces many soldiers, who from time to time descended from the mountains to attack the Suffaveans, but who were discovered by his sentinels and by the people of the country. It was in the month of July 1507 that Ismael entered the country of Alidoli, and he remained there till the middle of November. Then, on account of the snow and cold, he determined to return to Persia, and on his way to Tauris arrived at Malacia,⁶ where he met one of his adherents, named Amirhec,⁷ who wore the seal of the Sophi, and was a man high in authority. He had taken Sultan Aluan, who had escaped from Tanris, prisoner, in the following manner: he set out from Mosul with four thousand fighting men to support the Sophi, and passing by Amit,⁸ where Sultan Aluan was, he gave out that he had come to assist him against the Sophi, and was thus received in Amit. Having entered Amit, he threw Alnan into chains, took him prisoner in the name of Ismael, and conducted him to Malacia, where he was shortly afterwards put to death; and I myself saw him

¹ Kaiaarieh.

² El Bostan, or Albistan. See Zeno, p. 54.

³ Marash. See Zeno, p. 54.

⁴ Malatia. ⁵ Amir Beg.

⁶ The Jihoon.

⁷ Kara Dagh.

⁸ Diarbekr.

in chains there. After this, Ismael proceeded and crossed the Euphrates, which river is ten miles distant from Mala-cia on the east, and advanced to Cartibiert,¹ which was governed by a son² of Alidoli. This place was well provided with men and provisions, but these were of no avail, as the place was taken, and the governor put to death. They then advanced towards Tauris, but were overtaken by snow six days' journey distant from Coi,³ so that many men, horses, and camels died of the cold, and a great portion of the booty they had taken in the country of Alidoli was lost. At last they arrived at Coi, where was a magnificent palace built by Ismael, and there they remained till the spring. He then returned to Tauris, where he rested that summer, and in the following year was forced into another war, as Jesilbas,⁴ the ruler of Samarcand, called the Grand Tartar, whose people are named after the green caftans, had assembled an immense army, and entered the country of Corasan and Strave,⁵ places belonging to Persia, and then seized the lands of some neighbouring chieftains to be able to advance against the Sophi. But Ismael was in readiness, and went with an immense camp to Spāan,⁶ fourteen days' journey distant from Tauris towards the east, and there halted. The Tartar, hearing this, advanced no further, but thought to outwit Ismael by demanding a free passage to Mecca through his territory; but the latter perceived the stratagem, refused him a passage, and while the Tartar was in Corasan, Ismael remained in Spāan, watching the movements of the enemy. At the close of the year 1508 the Tartars returned to their country, and Ismael likewise to Taurie. In honour of his return they arranged and ornamented the hazaars and palaces, causing great feasts and games to be held, as you will hear. The Sophi had a high pole or mast erected in

¹ Kharput.

² Named Becarbee.

³ Khoi.

⁴ Sheibani Khan. See Zezo, p. 55.

⁵ Khorassan and Astrabad.

⁶ Ispahan.

the maidan, that is, in the piazzu, on which was placed a golden apple, and whoever running past could knock it down with their arrows or other missiles, took it for their own. After the golden one they set up a silver one, and so on, twenty in number, ten gold and ten silver; between the knocking down of each apple, Ismael rested a short time, drinking several confections and delicate wines; and while he was amusing himself, there stood before him two beautiful boys: one of whom held a vase of gold with a cup; and the other, two jugs of refreshing drunks. At his sport he has a guard of a thousand soldiers, besides whom, a crowd of perhaps thirty thousand soldiers and citizens stand by to see the game. After his recreation he goes with his lords to sup in a palace¹ in the country built by Sultan Assamhei, but the lords sup apart. This Sophi is fair, handsome, and very pleasing; not very tall, but of a light and well-framed figure; rather stout than slight, with broad shoulders. His hair is reddish; he only wears moustachios, and uses his left hand instead of his right. He is as brave as a game cock, and stronger than any of his lords; in the archery contests, out of the ten apples that are knocked down, he knocks down seven: while he is at his sport they play on various instruments and sing his praises.

CHAP. XVI.—Ismael being with his army in the country of Carabas,² sends two captains to invade Sumacchia, while he himself went towards the Caspian Sea, taking many places, and among others the castle of the city of Derbant, an important place.

Ismail having remained fifteen days in Tauris, set out in 1510 with his camp to Coi, where he remained two months, and whence in the year 1509 he determined to attack Semangoli, to whom, besides his life, he had presented for the

¹ Called Astibisti in the *Travels of a Merchant*, cap. 8.

² Kara Bagh.

second time the realm of Servan and Sunmachia;¹ but who, when he was engaged in the war with the Tartars, had broken the conditions of peace. Therefore, having assembled his army, he marched towards the country of Carahas, where there is a plain of immense extent, in which is situated a fortress named Canar, with many villages belonging to it. Here they manufacture the silk which is called Canarian, after the name of the place. As this region was very rich, he halted here eight days, and having nominated two captains, one named Dalahec and the other Bairahac,² he gave them charge of the expedition against Sunmacchia, making them a present of the city. When they arrived there, according to their instructions, they found the city deserted, the king having fled to Culnstan, a large and well fortified castle, situated on a mountain, but whose governor had orders to surrender it if Ismael appeared in person. The two captains, with ten thousand valiant men, encamped round this place, which is half a mile distant from the city, but were not able to assault on any side, as there were no engineers or artillery with them. About this time Ismael left Canar and went to the castle of Maumutaga, a port on the shores of the Caspian Sea, eight days' journey distant from Tanris, which he took, and with it much booty. He then marched along the coast to take possession of all the other fortresses of the country of Servan. From Maumutaga to Derhent is seven days' journey along the coast, on which are many towns and castles, Sunmacchia being one day's journey distant. On our march we reached a place named Baccara, four days' journey from Maumutaga, and two from Sumacchia. It is also called Baccuc,³ and is one of the ports of Tanris, with an excellent harbour; it was anciently the principal place on the sea, which

¹ Shirvan and Schamachi.

² Bairambec, the conqueror of Van and Ismael's brother-in-law. See *Travels of a Merchant*, cap. 6.

³ Baku.

is called the Sea of Baccuc after it, althoagh others call it the Caspian, frem the Caspian mountains; others, the Hyrcanian Sea frem Hyrcania, new called the country of Strava,¹ from whence comes the silk of Strava. One day's jenrney further frem Baccara is a fortress named Sirech, situated en a menntain. The inhabitants held out three days beforo coining to terms with Ismael, who, at length agreeing to their conditiens, sent in sixty men, leaving the fermer governer; but these sixty Suffaveans, behaving outrageously, were cat to pieces by the former ecnpants, who, from fear of the ceasequouces, fled by night to the beights of the mountains; the castle was in consequence demolished. A little fnrther was an unwalled city, named Sebran, which we found deserted, as everyone had fled: some in order to lay waste the cenntry, and others from fear. Leaviag this, we arrived at Derhant² in four days, and fenacl all the people fled: some te the country of the Tartars; some to the head of the Caspian Sea; and some to the beights of the mountains: so that only the castlo, which is large, well-huilt, and strong, held out; the towers were all newly erected, and on their summits were men with lances, slings, bows, etc. This castle has twe gates, which are walled round with immense stones, like flint; and while about this city, I will give a description ef it before goiag on te anything else. The city of Derhant, called by somo Tenicarpi,³ is sitaated en the Caspian Sea, near a high chain of mountains, called the Caspian Monntains, the only pass inte Tartary or Circassia heing in this place. Near this mountain there is an open bit of sea-heach of abeut a mile in extent, from the sea te the menntain, enclosed hy twe walls, commencing at the sea and going as far as the mountain, half a mile distant one from the other. These walls project into the sea up to six feet depth of water, so that no one either en foot er

¹ Astrabad.² Derbend. See Zeno, p. 44.³ Demir Kapoo, or the Iron Gate.

horseback can pass except by the gates. Between these walls there are numerous houses, as this place is a port with many ships, which trade to Citrachan¹ and other places. They used to have large ships of eight hundred tons burden, but now only those of two hundred can enter. On the mountain is an almost impregnable castle, before which the Sufi monarch encamped. Passing this city towards the west, one has the sea on the east for a space of sixty miles, and when it bends round to the left the mountains recede from the sea, near which place, on the summit of a mountain, is the Church of Saint Mary of the Caspian Mountains. But I will not relate anything more about this, as it is not the proper place for it. The Sophi remained besieging the castle for twenty days, having dug three mines without any effect. They then excavated under the foundations of a tower, and filled the hollow up with wood; having set fire to this, a great smoke rose in the air, which, being seen by the governor, he sent to Ismael at midnight and proposed to capitulate on condition of safety for their lives and property; Ismael, seeing that very little was gained by the fire, was satisfied and agreed to their request. The following morning he took possession of the castle, in which was a great quantity of provisions, ammunition, and arms; and I myself saw many of the suits of armour which were brought into the presence of the sovereign.

CHAP. XVII.—Many chiefs give in their allegiance to Ismael, who, after his return in great triumph to Tauris, makes a second expedition against the Lord of Samsrcant, defeats, and puts him to death; he makes his sons swear fealty to him, but, having released them, they revolt.

Having made himself master of the castle he remained there eight or nine days to rest his men, and during this

¹ Astrakhan.

time many of the neigghouring chiefs came to give in their submission to him, putting on the red caftan, and swearing obedience to the Sophi. After that he returned to Tauris, where, on his arrival, the bazaars were richly decked out, a trinmphal procession taking place in the city and rich banquets being held, according to cunstom. This monarch is almost, so to speak, worshipped, more especially by his soldiers, many of whom fight without armour, heing willing to die for their master. They go into battle with naked breasts, crying out "Schiac, Schiac",¹ which, in the Persian langnage, signifies "God, God". Others consider him a prophet; hut it is certain that all are of opinion that he will never die. Whilo I was in Tauris I heard that the king ie displeased with this adoration, and being called God. Their custom is to wear a red caftan, coming half a cuhit over tho head, which widens at the part which covors the head; it gots narrower towards the top, and is made with twelve fringes, a finger in thickness, symbolising the twclve Sacraments² of their religion ; neither do they ever shave their beards or moustachios. They have made no change in their dress ; their armour consists of cuirassie of gilt plates made of the finest steel of Syras. Their horso-armour is of copper: not like oure, but in pieces like those of Soria,³ they also have helmets or head-pieces of a great waight of metal. Everyone of them rides on horseback: some with a lance, sword, and shield; othere with bow and arrows, and a mace. While Ismael was in Tanris in the winter, there came three Negro ambassadours, who were received with great honour hy the Sophi monarch, and having fulfilled their mission, retrrnred to their master with many prosents. Ismael, while resting, as we havo related, received ncws that Jesilbas,⁴ the Lord of Sammarcant, with an Usheeo chief, with an immense army,

¹ "Sheikh, Sheikh." In this seuse it means simply a holy man, not God.

² Syria.

³ Rather the twelve Imauma.

⁴ Sheibani Khan, the Usbeg. See Zeno, p 55.

was ravaging the country of Hirac,¹ that is, Iespatan² and other places. He determined to take vengoance, and taking the field, ordered all his troops to assemble at Cassan,³ a place twonty dys' journey to the east of Tauris ; he chose this city for the muster, as it abounded in provisions. This city is walled with stone, and is three miles in circumference ; there are grent manufacturers of silk and cotton. After he had collectcd a hundred thonsand men, learning from an Armenian Bishop of his ndversary'a immense army, he set out to meet him, having a deep grudge ngagainst these Tartars ; as, on the previons occasion when peace was made with them, they broke the treaty before the year was out. Thus Ismael marched against the hostile army, which was at Strava,⁴ on the confines of Hirach, in the year 1501. Leaving Cassan with his army, he went to Spaân, four days' journey from Cassan, then hrried eagerly forward in pursuit of the enemy, who, hearing that Ismael was coming, retired to a river named Efra, anciently called Larit,⁵ rising in a lake called the lake of Corassan. In the middle of the river is a town named Chiraer, in which tho Tartars took up n position, making hond against tho Suffaveans, who, on their arrival, encamped close to them, and prepared for battle; Ismael exhorting his troops and making such great promises, that all were eager for the fight. Then the Suffaveans were arrayed in three columns, the first being given to Busamhet,⁶ Lord of Sumacchia ; the second to Gnstagielit;⁷ while the king commanded the third in person ; the Tartars doing likewise. The following morning the Sophi ordered all his martial instruments to be sounded, while everyone shouted, " Long livo Ismael our king". In this manner, at the first hour of the day the two armies en-

¹ Irak Ajemi.

² Ispahan.

³ Kashan.

⁴ Astrabad.

⁵ Jarood.

⁶ Most probably Bairambee, the king's brother-in-law, mentioned before.

⁷ Custagialu, another brother-in-law of the king.

gaged, and, at the first assault, the Tartars repulsed the Sophi's division, and cut numbers to pieces. The Tartars still gaining, the Sophi seeing his destruction imminent, threw himself into the front rank of the battle, fighting bravely and giving now courage to his soldiers, who were confused by the rout of the first division; so that they, seeing their monarch in danger, made head and fought bravely against the Tartars for four hours. At length they put to flight the division commanded by Usboc, the others following the example; so that the Sophi gained great honour by his victory over the Tartars, and by showing in this, as in his previous enterprises, his great valour and generalship. Usheo and Jesilbas were taken prisoners with their sons; the heads of the two former were immediately cut off and sent, one to the Soldan, and the other to the Turk. In this hattle thore was greater slaughter on both sides than has ever takon place in Porsia. He did not put the princes to death, hut threw them iuto prison, and took away their realm: Strava,¹ Rassan, Heri, and other neighbouring places coming under his sway. When tho Sophi was about to set out on his return journey, he caused the sons of Jesilbas to be brought before him, and said to them: "You are the sons of a great monarch, who, having broken his faith, and ravaged my territories, forced me to attack him; I have conquered him, and put him to death; but I will spare your lives, and allow you to return to your country on condition that you wear tho red caftan, and that this river bo your boundary." Tho young men replied, "Sire, we are content with what pleases your majesty, and will give in our submission." Thus they were released, and went to Sammarcant, while we returned to Cassan² and remaiued ther all the winter of 1510.³ When the young men returned to

¹ Astrabad, Khorassan, Herat.

² Kashan.

³ The battle of Merv Shah Jehan, in which Sheibani Khan was killed, took place in 1514.

Sammarcant, the report reached their material uncle that they had promised allegiance to the Sophi. This uncle was one of the seven Seldjukians of Tartary, and came to them, and said: "Oh, fools, you have disgraced our name by wearing the ensign of a dog, who is neither Christian nor Mahometan," being exceedingly enraged with them. The young men answered: "We did all in our power, seeing our father dead, ourselves captives, our realm seized, and the troops dispersed." They then recaated, and put on the green caftan, while their uncle promised to assist them with troops against the Sophi. The year 1512 these princes, with their uncle, collected an immense army and entered the country of Corassan, belonging to the Sophi; and took the city of Chirazzo, cutting to pieces the Saracens, and, following up their victory, took several other places. The news coming to the Sophi, who was with his army at Coral-dava, he set out immediately against the wearers of the green caftans, and chased them out of the country of Corassan, beyond the river Efra¹ into some mountains near the Caspian Sea, where he did not think it prudent to follow them, and so returned to Chirazzo, leaving one of his sons, four years of age, with a wise and brave general. He then went on to Tauris, leaving his whole army behind him from apprehension of the return of the Tartars.

CHAP. XVIII.—Some Persian noblemen invite the Ottoman to attack the Sophi in Persia, which he does with a great number of men, and having joined battle gains the victory, and thereupon returns to Amasia.

While the Sophi was in Tanris, some of his tributary chiefs in the territory bordering on the Turks seeing that the army was away in Corassan, came to an understanding with the Ottoman, and invited him to attack Persia; but for

¹ Jarood.

which invitation the Turk would never have mustered courage to do so. Being summoned by such great chiefe and principally by the Cards, who were enemies of the Sophi monarch, who inhabited the mountains of Bitlis,¹ knowing the power of the Tartars, and thinking that the Sophi would be in difficulties, he determined in 1514 to form an army and invade Persia, apprehensive that if the Sophi were victorious against the Tartars, he would make an alliance with the Soldan for his destruction. Hence he set out from Constantinople, and made his way with a great number of men to Amasia. Having provided all that was necessary in this place, he marched towards Toccat in the month of May. Here it will be convenient to reconnt the distanco in miles of some places one from the other. First, then, from Constantinople to Amasia there are five hundred miles. Thence to the river Lais,² that is, Sivas, passing through the country of Toccat, are a hundred and fifty miles. From Lais, the frontier of the Sophi's dominions, to the Euphrates,³ are a hundred miles; thence to Carpicht⁴ eighty miles; to Amit fifty miles; thence to Bitlie two hundred and forty milos; from Bitlis to the lake⁵ fifty miles; the lake is a hundred miles long; from thence to Coi⁶ are fifty miles; and from Coi to Tauris seventy-five miles. Through the Sophi's dominions seven hundred and forty-five miles to Taurie, to Constantinople, in all 1395 miles. Having crossed the Toccat, he reached Sivas, and then the country of Arsingsn,⁷ making great booty, and sending many people to Amasia and Constantinoplo, principally artizans and skilled workmen, and also men of rank. The Sophi, who was in Tauris, hearing this, as his army was still in Corassan, determined

¹ Bitlis. See Zeno, p. 8.

² Iria.

³ At Gumish Knaneh.

⁴ Kharput.

⁵ The Van lake, at its nearest point, is scarcely twenty English miles from Bitlis. ⁶ Khoi is nearly a hundred miles from the Van lake.

⁷ This is the shortest and most direct route from Tocat to Persia and quite different from the one just mentioned.

to collect as many men as he could. Therefore he hastily sent two great generals, one called Stngiali Mametbei, the other Carbec Sampira, into the country of Diarhee, who collected about twenty thousand men and marched with them to the fords of the Enbrates. But hearing that Selim was coming in great force, they did not feel strong enough to oppose him, but returned to Coi, where there is a wide valley or plain named Calderan. Here they halted, and the Sophi joined them in person. While they were here the Turk kept on advancing, so that he arrived not far from that place, ravaging and burning all the country he passed through. The Sophi monarch having left for Tauris in order to assemble more troops, the two generals seeing the enemy approaching so near determined to attack them. On the other hand, the Turks fought with desperation, as their provisions were failing, and if they had been defeated all would have perished. On the 23rd¹ of August, therefore, in the year 1514, the first division of the Suffaveans under Stngiali Mametbei, with half the troops, began the fight by routing those opposed to them, who were all inhabitants of Natolia, dispersing and cutting them to pieces. But Sinan Bassà, with his troops, who came from Roumania, coming up, many on both sides were killed, and at length the squadron of Stngiali was defeated, he himself being taken prisoner and his head cut off, which was afterwards sent to the Sophi. At this moment the second division of the Persians came up, and fought so valiantly, that they put the enemy to flight, so that the Turk was compelled to retire with his whole force to where the janissaries and the artillery were, his troops being in confusion; but the genins of Sinan Bassà rallied them, and the Suffaveans were routed and all the camp taken, together with one of the Sophi's wives. The whole army being lost, both generals were killed; but one of them named Carhee, before he died, was taken before the Turk, who said to him:

¹ Zeno, p. 60.

"O, dog, who art thou, who hast had the courage to oppose our majesty ; knowest thou not that my father and I are vicars of the prophet Mahomet, and that God is with us?" The captaiu Carhec replied : " If God had heeu with you, you would not have come to fight against my master the Sophi; bnt I believe that God has taken away his haud from you." Then Selim said : " Kill this dog ;" and the captain replied : " I know it is my hour now, hut you, Selim, prepare yourself for another occasiou, whon my master will slay you as you uow are slaying me ;" upou which he was immediately put to death. The Turk, after his victory, rested at Coi, as mayu of his troops had been killed ; the uows of the defeat came to the Sophi in Tauris, who immediately set out with his meu who had escaped, his wife named Tasluchanum, and his treasures, to Casihi,¹ iu order to collect another army to oppose the Turk. This place is seueu days' journey to the east of Tauris. Tho people of Tauris, seeing their king escaping, were iu dread of tho Trnk, and sent two amhassadors to him with presouts. The Turk theu came to Tauris, and immediately seeking out seven hundred families of skilled workmen, sent them to Coustantiuople. Ho remained in Tauris three days when, heing in want of provissons and fearing lest the Persians should attack him in great force, he departed ; on his jouruey he was greatly distressed for want of supplies and harassed by tho Iberiaus, hnt at length arrived at Amasia.

CHAP. XIX.—The Sophi sends ambassadors to the Soldan, to Alidolat, and the Iberians, making a league with them against the Turk ; to whom he also sends ambassadors, ironically making rich presents to him, and threatening him. The Turk, having attacked Alidolat, defeats him, and puts him to death, with two of his sons.

On the return of tho Sophi to Tauris he determined to send amhassadors to Cairo, to Alidolat, and to the Iheriaus,

¹ Casveen.

this happening in the month of October. Those sent to the Soldan¹ arrived in December, and made known to him the object of their mission, to which the Soldan replied that he wold be well satisfied to assist the Sophi and make an alliance with him against the Turk, sounding him aid in troops and trying their fortune together. The Sophi, however, made it a condition, that if the Turk sent any amhassadors to him he should not receive them, either publicly or secretly, or else the peace would be broken between them; and thus was the alliance concluded between the Soldan and the Sophi. The other amhassadors who went on the same mission to Alidolat, had the same success, and equally so with the Iberians, who besides agreed to assist Ismael with the largest force they could raise every-time he went against Selim. After this the Sophi sent lo-gates to the Turk in Amasia, with a sceptre of gold ornamented with jewels, a saddle and a sword likewise covercd with jewels,² and a letter, saying : " We, Ismael, Lord of Persia, herewith send you these regal presents, equal in value to your realm ; if you aro a man, keep them well, as I shall come and take them back, and not them only, hat also your throne and life." Selim hearing this wished to put the amhassadors to death, but his Pashas dissuaded him, and so contenting himself with cutting off their noses and ears he let them go, saying : " Tell your master that I treat him as a dog, and that he may do his worst." [The countries I am about to mention are under the sway of the Turk, kept in subjection by his janissaries. They rule over the country of Arsingan and Baibort,³ where there are many towns and castles ; theso countries are the Turkish frontiers towards Trehizond, and are both in Lesser Armenia. Thence from the

¹ Khafour el Ghouri, called Campson Gauri later on.

² We have an instance of this sort in our own annals, viz., the presents sent by the Dauphin to Henry V. ³ Baiburt.

⁴ These were the latest conquests made by Selim from Persia.

Euphratee, the country of Diarhec, the metropolis of which is Amit, in Greater Armenia; also, the land of Mosul and the great plain as far as the horders of Bagadet, being part of Mesopotamia.] Mattere heing at thiis crisis, the Turk came to the Toccat and to Amasia in 1515, with a few of his troops, as he had divided his forces into two parts. One he had given the command of to Scander, sending him to attack a city belonging to Ismael called Tania,¹ of a hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants. With the other division he set ont on an enterprise against Alidolat, who had taken np a position in the strongholds of the mountains. The latter prince hearing of the intention of the Turk, sent amhassadore to him, eaying that he had alwaye been his friend, and that ho did not knouw his reasons for seizing his dominion ; hut, nevertheless, he resolved to die like a hrave man. The Turk replied that ho wished to give him a lesson as to what busi-
ness he had to receive ambassadors from the Sophi, and promise him aid against himself. The general Scander took Tania hy assault with great slaughter. The Ottoman marching towards Cassaria,² near Alidolat, the Alidolians attacked him, hut were repulsed and roughly handled, Ali-
dolat³ heing takon prisoner with two of his eons, and their heads cut off; the others fled to the monutains. Thus the Turk gained a great victory, and the captain, Scander, an equal ono, as he cansed a great massacre among the people of Tania. Having achicved these sncesses, tho Turk de-
termined to leavo his eons in Amasia, while he himself re-
turned to Constantinople.

¹ Euxaghly, near Malatia, called Ciamassum by Knolles, who says it was situated near the confluence of the Melas (Kara Su) with the Euphrates.

² Kaisarieh.

³ Knolles says that Aladeules was betrayed by his nephew, Alis Beg, wbo became the Turkish governor of the country.

CHAP. XX.—The Turk makes an expedition against the Soldan, and meeting him in battle, defeats him, the Soldan being slain.

In the year 1516, the Turk hearing of the agreement between the Soldan and the Sophi, and seeing that Ismael was hard pressed by those of the green caftans, determined to set out with a large army against the Soldan. In the same year, in the month of May, he sent his troops across the strait into Natolia under his general Sinan Bassa, with a number of arquebusiers and artillerymen, commanding him to march towards Caramania. Traversing the country of the Turcomans he arrived at a place named Alhustan, and remained there several days to refresh his troops. The Sophi hearing this sent envoys to the Sultan of the Mame-inkes, Campson, named the Gauri, to tell him that he would advance from one quarter and that the Gauri should do the same from the other, and together crush Sinan Pasha. The Soldan agreed to all, and, having assembled a great number of soldiers, leaving Cairo, went to Aleppo; the Turk hearing this, set out from Constantinople on the 5th June, 1516, to join Sinan Bassa, and while on the journey sent forward as his envoys the Cadi Lascher,¹ and Zacharia Bassa to enquire of the Soldan his reasons for coming in this unexpected way to Aleppo. But he received no satisfactory answer, which plainly shewed an understanding with the Sophi. Therefore the Turk summoned all the Doctors and learned men, and enquired of them the will of God. They answered that it was his duty first to root out that obnoxious thorn, and then to follow the path in which God would guide him. Hearing the reply he marched toward Aleppo with an immense army, and great rejoicings, and on his arrival there encamped in a beautiful plain near the venerated tomb of the prophet David, sending

¹ Kazi Asker.

the vanguard in advance in four divisions; so that the troops were under arms both night and day. The Mamelukes, arriving the following day, arrayed themselves in order of battle.¹ The Turk having information of this, rose to his feet in his tent, making application to God, beseeching him for his great name's sake and the reverence they bore him, that he would give the victory that day to the army of good Mussulmans. Having ended his prayer, he mounted his horse and went to exhort the Basses to put their troops in array, which was done; the different pieces of artillery, both large and small, being put in order, they began to march; all his pages, about twelve hundred in number, mounted on horses and clad with rich vests, while attentive to their rank and order, made prayer to God for the success of their Sovereign. The monarch also arrayed himself, having in attendance a noble youth named Mergis, and three thousand men clad in dresses embroidered with gold, and armed with bows, who were his slaves. On the left were three thousand five hundred of the men of his court, then seventeen hundred Solacchi and the white roses of the garden of the camp, and thirteen thousand janissaries with arquebuses and pieces of artillery. On the left of these were the troops of Natolia, armed with lances, at the head of whom was their Sangiaceo² named Sachinalogier, chief of the Turcomans. On the right were the fighting men of Greece with their captain Sinan Bassa, and the Begliarhei of the newly acquired territory of Azimia, named Buichimehemet, with all the warriors of Amasia sword in hand. Arrayed in this manner on the 24th³ of August, at the third hour of the day they joined in a fierce and sanguinary contest which lasted till mid day. Opposed to the Greeks was the ruler of Damascus, a great chief named Sibes,⁴ and opposed to the

¹ This was contrary to the advice of Algazeli, who advised Campson to protract the war and not to risk all on one battle.

² Sanjak.

³ Knolles says the 7th.

⁴ Sybeius Baluan.

Netolians was Caierbec¹ the ruler of Aleppo; Sinan Bassa fighting bravely drove back those opposed to him as far as their standards, and the other troops seeing the valour of the Bassa followed up their success, both parties bearing themselves bravely, and repulsing the enemy in turn five or six times. At last the ruler of Aleppo turned his back, and fled with all his troops, when the Bassa turned his arms against the ruler of Damascus, who was not able to resist any longer and fled to the great Soldan. He was pursued by one of the Grecian warriors, who cut off his head, and shortly afterwards the Soldan² Campson the Gauri was slain. Their army being routed, abandoning their tents, arms, and treasures, a great number of the Mamelukes fled to Aleppo, and having remained there a short time went on to Damascus and Cairo. The Turkish monarch coming to Aleppo, remained there some time in order to make himself master of several castles in which he placed garrisons of janissaries, and then sent Janus Bassa³ with some of the Greek troops to pursue the enemy. Having overtaken them near a city called Caman, Caierbec, the lord of Aleppo, and another chief named Algazeli approached. The lord of Aleppo advanced to meet the Bassa, promising allegiance to the great Turkish monarch; Algazeli fled to Cairo, and Caierbec came to the presence of the Sultan, by whom he was well received and presented with rich gifts of gold, silk, wool

¹ Knolles says that the Mamelukes lost the battle through the treachery of Caierbec, who had a secret understanding with Selim. The Turks were almost put to rout by Sibes and Algazeli, when the desertion of the Governor of Aleppo and the opportune arrival of Sinan Pasha turned the fortune of the fight. Sibes and Campson Gauri were both killed in the battle, which took place, according to Knolles, on the 7th of August, 1516, the same day that the battle of Schalderan took place two years before.

² Kafoor el Gbouri, the last Soldan of Egypt but one, died 1516, and was succeeded by Tomant Bey.

³ Jonnse Pasha put to death soon afterwards by Selim.

and cotton, and made to sit down with the great lords. The monarch rode towards Damascus, and, before entering it, had his tent erected near the city, and held a court with great splendour and magnificence, as there were people speaking seventy-two different languages in the city. This court was one of the most splendid ever seen. Having rested several days in the city he ordered two of the Greek captains named Mametbei and Scanderbei, to advance with their troops to Gazzara¹ on the frontiers of the district, and to halt there. Setting out with this command, they were on the journey greatly harassed by Moors and Arabs, but nevertheless arrived at Gazzara and entered the place, expecting to enjoy themselves.

CHAP. XXI.—Tomombei, the new Soldan, hearing of the victory of the Turk, sends Algazeli against the Turks in Gazzara; but Sinan Bassà going to their assistance, confronts and defeats him. The Turk leaves Damascus and goes to Jerusalem, where he gives alms and offers sacrifices.

The new Soldan of Cairo, the great Diodar² surnamed Tomombei,³ was quickly informed of this victory; and Algazeli who was a brave General, on his arrival at Cairo asked permission to go and attack this force. The Turks who had arrived at Gazzara stood firm, and this Algazeli, setting out from Cairo with five thousand well armed Mamelukes, hurried through the country raising troops. The Turks at Gazzara became apprehensive, but nevertheless determined to perish sword in hand; the Grand Turk, on receiving the news, determined to reinforce the troops at Gazzara, and for this purpose sent Sinan⁴ Bassà with fifteen thousand

¹ Gaza.

² Devetdar.

³ Tomant Bey, last Soldan of Egypt.

⁴ Sinan Pasha, Selim's best general—his valour and generalship had saved him upon more than one occasion; for instance, at the battle of Schalderan, and again in the conflict with the Mamelukes.

men. Algazeli having left Cairo arrived at Catia, and after crossing the sandy desert and coming to a caravanserai or villa where he halted, received intelligence of Sinan's arrival at Gazzara; though this was to his great disgust, as it prevented him accomplishing his object, he nevertheless plucked up spirits, and exhorted his men to fight valiantly, promising them the victory. Having arranged an assault on the Turks during the night, news of this determination came to the ears of the enemy, and Sinan Bassà arrayed his troops for the battle, and resolved to conquer or die; there being no other alternative left them, as they were surrounded by ~~encl~~^a a number of Moors. That night they held great rejoicings with salutes and bonfires, praying to Allah for victory, and set out on their march; hence the people of Gazzara imagined that they were retreating to join their sovereign, the Grand Turk, and therefore they put to death all the wounded in Gazzara, and informed Algazoli that our troops had fled. This caused him great satisfaction, but at the third hour of the day, seeing the dust made by the army which he thought had fled, coming to meet him in battle, his satisfaction was turned to disgust, and he seemed struck with astonishment. Our men drawing near, dismounted, tightened the girths of their horses, and then asking forgiveness one of another, they shook hands, embraced, and commenced praying to God for the sake of his prophet Mahomet, and his four vicars, Ahn Beker, Omar, Osman, and Ali, and all the other prophets, his predecessors, that he would give the victory to the army of the true Mussulmans. Then Sinan Bassà, turning to the army, exhorted them all, saying that they had often before routed larger armies and gained more important battles than these;¹ tell-

¹ Knolles says, in his *History of the Turks*, p. 535:—"The Bassà had placed his harquebusiers in the wings of his battell, which were ranged of a great length in their rankes, thereby to use their peeces at more liberty and with more ease to enclose the enemie: in the middle

ing them that they should stand firm, as he who was destined to die would perish even if he fled, and he who was not destined to fall would not do so even if he fought on; and that as male wothers are proper for sacrifices, so ought they to fight for their sovereign. "Let us avengo our friends, whom these dogs have slain at the first onset, whose corpsos, if they could speak, would ery, 'Slay, slay'; if you conquer you will receive great rewards from our ruler, and obtain great fame, as many of you who are now of low rank will be promoted." They all replied, saying: "God give long life to

were placed the horsemen to receive the first charge of the Mamalukes. Gazelles approaching the enemy, sent before the troupes of the Arahiaw light horsemen to troule the wings of the enemies battell, and with a square battell of his Mamalukes charged the middle battell of the Turks. The battell was a great while most terrible, and the victorie douftfull; for, although the Turkes in number farre exceeded, yet were they not able to endro the armed and couragoons Memalukes, but were glad to give grouod; and, quite disordored by the breaking-in of the Mamalukes, as men discouraged, began to look about them which way they might flie; when, by the commaundement of Sinan, the harquebusiers, who, with the first volloy of their shot, had repulsed the Arabians, wheeling about enclosed ell the enemies battell. By which means both men and horse were a farre off elaine, with the multitude of the deadly shot, where true valour helped not them, so on every side enclosed. For where my troupe of the Mamalukes pressed forward upon the Turkes, they quickly retired, and in all places of the battell, as much as they could, shunned to encouuter their enemies with their horsemen, labouring onely to gaulo them with shot. Gazelles seeing his horses spent with extreame wearinesse, and that he was not to expect any further helpe, his Arabians now beginning to fall from him; and also, considering that many of his most valiant souldiours were either elaine or wounded, and having also himselfe received a great wound in his necke, he, with the rest of his armie, mado way through the middest of his enemies, and having lost divers of his ensignes, fled back againe to Cnire, through the samo sandie deserts whereby he eome. In this battell was lost the Governor of Alexandria and Orehamus, Governor of Caire (both men of great account among the Mamalukes), and besido them a great number of Arabiens, with a thousand or more of the Mamaluke horsemen. Neither got Sinen a joyfull or unhoudie victorie, having lost above two thousand of his best horsemen, and amongst them certainto commaunders, men of great marke."

- our sovereign ; may the whole eearth be euhjected to him ; and let him who does not submit be put to death. Forward ! forward !” Having marched, therefore, and the two armes having met, the Circassians resisted our attack with great courage and daring, each side repulsing the other in turn several times from the third hour till noon, numbers heing slain. At last the Circassians were routed, while our troops were highly elated with the victory and immense booty ; the Mamelukes fled to Cairo, pursued by some of our men. The others returned to Gazzara with Sinan Bassà, stuffing with straw the heads of the dead chiefs, while the others they fixed to the palm trees in memory of the battle. The great monarch sent two hundred Solacchi to meet Sinen Bassà, and request him to ride forward and meet him in a certain place. But not finding the Bassà, they set out on their return. On the march, numbers of them died, and heing again attacked by the Arabs, all but six were killed. These rejoined the great monarch and reported that they had heard nothing of Sinan or of his army. The Sultan hearing this rose up in a great fury to march to the rescue of the valiant Greeks ; but just then there arrived some Moors with the news of the rout of Algazeli by the Turkish troops, who had returned in triumph to Gazzara. The Moors were rewarded for their tidings, and the emperor was in the highest spirits ; marching from Damascs he came to Penoti, where the two hundred Solacchi were slain, which place he sacked and burnt. He then went to Jersalem, but had a great deal of rain and bad weather on the road, which caused much sufforing and the death of many. In Jersalem the monerch bestowed much money on the poor of the city, and also made offerings of good rams ; so that the sacrificing priests were satisfied with his bounty. Proceeding on the route to Gazzara they arrived at a fearful gorge,¹ where only two horses could advance abreast. The

¹ Petra ? :

Arahs had seized the defile and had collected huge stones above to roll down whou the Sultan was passing ; they had also numerous archers. The monarch having heard this, ordered the artillery and the arquebuses to he prepared ; hut when the need came they could not be discharged, owing to the wind and rain. Nevertheless, the valiant janissaries managed to make nse of tho arquebuses and pnt to flight the Moors with great slaughter. When we approached Gazzara the valiant Greek troops, fully armed and sumptnously clad in the spoils of the enemy, came a howshot out of the city to meet their sovereign. The Moors seeing this great array were filled with astonishment, while the Sanzacci dismounted to kiss the hand of the Sultan, and the whole army separated into two parts, having the monarch in the centre, and saluted him. Then he met Sinan Bassà, and thanked him, the army, and the Spachi, which means nohlo-men, and made them many presents. Having remained four days at Gazzara, they advanced to Casali, where they had not been able to go previously from want of water. But the desert being full of water from the rains, they proceeded at their ease, and immodately on arriving Casali was given up to pillage, in retaliation for the attack on the Sultan in the valley abovo mentionod.

CHAP. XXII.—The Turk marches on Cairo, and the Soldan, with Al-gazeli, confronts him ; but in the battle is defeated and flies in disguise ; while the Turk enters the capital of the Soldan.

We then set out on the straight route to Cairo, where tho nowly created Soldan Tomomhei¹ was making preparations by digging moats and raising embankments of earth² with a great number of laboners. He also posted pieces of artillery with the design when our army appeared of syeeping it all

¹ Toman Bey.

² At Maharra, six miles from Cairo.

away, and by a sally of fourteen thousands Mamelukes and twenty thousand auxiliaries to rout it utterly. When we arrived in the country six thousand Mamelukes deserted, and informed the Grand Turk of everything. Therefore he turned suddenly into another road, which was unguarded, and in which he could not be molested by the enemy's artillery. The Circassians and the Soldan seeing that the Sultan was advancing by another route, attacked us with great shouts and yells: Algazeli against the Greek troops, a vizier named Allem¹ against those of Natolia, and the Soldan against the Grand Turk himself; so that, from the morning till mid-day, there was a fierce fight. And in the battle, unfortunately, Sinan Bassà was killed,² and with him a great number of his retainers who had partaken of his bread and salt, and who, clad in garments he had given them, devoted themselves to death with their master. They bathed him with their tears, and having enveloped him in a fine cloth, and having sprinkled him in some water called Abzeuzom found at Mecca,³ they buried him in a grave they dug for him. Mustafà Bassà, seeing that all depended on him, with loud shouts and great valour began the combat, which being seen by the men of Natolia, at the head of whom he was, they got so enraged that they cut down the Circassians like grass in the most marvellous manner. The troops of the monarch and of Greece also fought bravely, but at the hour of evening prayers each retired from fatigue, and the Circassians, wearied out, were put to flight, part into Cairo and part to the open country.⁴ The Greeks pursued them till night, plundering and slaughtering them;

¹ Allem, called Heylims the Devetdar, by Knolles.

² By a Mameluke captain named Bidon, frequently mentioned by Knolles.

³ The well of Zemzem.

⁴ Knolles says, Tomant Bey, after showing great personal courage, was forced to order a retreat, which soon became a flight. The battle was fought on the 24th January, 1517.

the monarch remained that night on the field of battle, and ordered all the prisoners to be put to death, which was done. They remained here three days, and on the fourth reached the river Nile at a place called Bichieri, where they halted two days. The Mamelukes who had advanced joined the Seldan to the number of nine thousand, planning a night attack; but the Sultan, hearing this, ordered the troops to remain under arms all night. But the enemy, hearing this, changed their plan and determined to attack us by day, and thus came on with fearful yells. The janizaries fought bravely, and the troops of Greece mounted and fought on horseback. Still, not being able to conquer the enemies that day, both armies retreated. The following morning the great monarch rose with the dawn, and, having returned thanks to God, ordered all the army to be put in array, all mounting, moving with great solemnity and display against the Circassians, who, with their usual cries, hid the battle, one side being soon hidden from the other by the dust. The Mamelukes¹ were desperate, and wished for nothing better than to die sword in hand, it appearing to them a disgrace to escape and leave all their possessions in the hands of the enemy, a calamity from which God preserve every one, and more especially all good Mehemetans. The monarch, seeing that he could not destroy the Circassians, ordered the city to be set on fire, which the janizaries did in several places. The Mamelukes, seeing this, cried out for quarter with loud and terrible yells; and the Sultan, having pity on them, ordered the fire to be extinguished, it being almost by a miracle that the whole city was not burnt down. The Circassians renewed the contest with such vigour that the arrows fell like rain; and so many fell on both sides, that the streets of Cairo ran blood, the fight continuing the entire day. At night, the

¹ The Mamelukes were repulsed, and were then attacked in Cairo by Selim.

Circassians, being faint and exhausted, retired into a mosque, in which as a citadel they kept up a gallant defense for three days and three nights. But at length, a grand attack being made, the mosque was taken by storm. The Soldan Tomombei escaped in disguise, when the great monarch went to rest and his followers to get booty and prisoners; the heads of these prisoners were afterwards cut off by the banks of the Nile. Algazeli, who had been away from Cairo in order to collect forces of Arabs, was already approaching the city when he was informed that the Turk had proclaimed a free pardon to all the Circassians who came in in the course of three days. Hence many Circassians who had been concealed presented themselves and received gifts; Algazeli also did the same, and gave in his submission to the king. And to him also were presents made. After this the Grand Turk, with the great white standard, with drums, fifes, and naccare, went to the residence of the Soldan; while on the way, they discovered a conspiracy of some Mamelukes who wished to escape, for which some were put to death, and others confined in certain prisons till some days afterwards, when they were drowned in the Nilo. In this manner did this monarch Sultan Selim revenge himself on his enemies; also, when at Cairo, hearing that the people of a town named Catia had insulted our soldiers who had been sent there, he commissioned Algazeli and a Beglerbei to go and chastise the Moors and to plunder the city. This being done and the Moors being all put to death, the other places in the vicinity became quite submissive.

CHAP. XXIII.—The Turk sends Ambassadors to the Soldan, who had fled, advising him to submit; but, these men being killed by the Circassians, he sends Mustafa with an army to revenge them. The Soldan is defeated; and, being pursued by Mustafa, is taken prisoner, and brought to the Grand Turk, who causes him to be impaled by one of the gates of Cairo.

We remained at Cairo alert to all the movements of the Soldan, who had crossed the Nile and taken flight into the country of the Saettò.¹ As he wished to be informed of what the Turks were doing, he sent secret emissaries to Cairo to stir up the citizens to molest our troops. While things were in this train, Omar,² a lord of the Moors, came secretly to kiss the hand of the Sultan, told him all, and was rewarded by a good Sangiacato in the regions of the Saettò. Sentinels were posted everywhere, and artillery to command the river, so that not even a bird could have crossed. They then determined to send two chiefs with the Cadis of Cairo to the Soldan to advise him to submit himself to the Grand Turk, who promised to give him the government of Cairo. But the Circassians, whom they got the ambassadors into their power, put them to death. The monarch, hearing of this cruelty, caused bridges to be erected over the river, and commanded Mustafa to cross with the entire army, which was reported to the Soldan, who, with five thousand Circassians and ten thousand Arabs, advanced to meet them by forced marches in one day and one night. At this juncture part of the Greek troops had crossed and others were crossing, not having any intelligence of this; but God so willed it that those who were seeking a good spot to pitch the Sultan's tent, saw the dust raised by the approaching squadrons, and, being utterly amazed, rode off to tell the news. The monarch ordered Mustafa to mount and set the army in array. The

¹ Delta?

² Called Albuchomar by Knolles.

Circassians charged and drove back our troops as far as the standard, but, being reinforced, we repulsed them; the Circassians, seeing this, again closed and drove us back with such slaughter that the blood ran in rivers. The Moore fought only to give the Circassians time to rest, so that our men were at a great disadvantage, fighting on bravely still, but with immense loss. The Bassa, who was in attendance on the Sultan, seeing this, and that the day was in a way to be lost, seized his scimitar and sabre furiously, and rushed towards the Soldan, intending to cut the life out of his body before dying himself. The Greeks, seeing this act of valour, struggled on to assist their chief. And it is certain that if their courage had failed them then, they would have lost their lives, as they would all have been cut to pieces. But their bravery showed the Soldan that they would gain the victory, and, seeing that from a great and rich monarch he would become a poor and solitary outcast, looking up to heaven he bewailed his sad lot with such bitter words as to make all who heard him pity him. After many words, accompanied with tears, he took to flight, riding night and day till he reached a bridge, where he rested a short time. Mustafa¹ and the Greeks pursued him, but he managed to keep in advance of them. The Turk set out from Cairo, and halted half a day's journey distant from Mustafa, who had pursued the Soldan for four days and as many nights, till he forced him from fatigue to take refuge in a Casal of the Moore. Our men, also being very much fatigued, could not get possession of him; so they determined to write to the people of the Casal ordering them under pain of fire and sword to prevent the Soldan proceeding any further. Thence the chief of the fortress, named Sheikh Assaim, told all his men, and Tomomhei and the Circassians were surrounded by the Moors, so that they could not escape till the arrival of our men, who soon got

¹ Mustafa, Algazeli, and Caierbec were sent in pursuit.

them into their power. The Circassians threw themselves into a neighbouring lake, while our soldiers cut some of them to pieces and made prisoners of the others. Tomombei was taken standing up to his knees in water, and conducted to the Bassà, who despatched a troop to the monarch with intelligence of all that had occurred. The messenger on his arrival was received with great rejoicings, and all the Sangiacchi and the lords kissed the Grand Turk's hand. The Soldan was not brought to his presence, but kept in good custody in a tent near his. After this there was another battle with the Moors in another fortress near the Nile; the inhabitants and some Mamolukes were continually killing and robbing our men. Mustafà set out and destroyed the fortress, and, after remaining four days, returned to the Turk, who was holding a court, and had commanded that Tomombei Soldan¹ should be led through the country of Cairo on a mule, with a chain round his neck, and that at a gate of the city called Bobzomele he should be impaled, which was immediately done. This was the termination of the kingdom of the Mamelukes and the commencement of the greater power of Selim Saltan. The history of this last expedition of Selim against the Soldan and the Mamelukes was carefully written by a *Cadi Lascher*,² who was with the army, to a Cadi in Constantiaople, and translated from the Turkish into Tuscan on the 22nd October, 1517.

In 1524, in the month of August, news came that the celebrated Sophi monarch was dead, and that his younger son had seized the power, but was opposed by the elder with a great number of soldiers. Ismael had left four sons, the eldest named Schiactheomes,³ the second Alcas el Mirza,⁴

¹ He was first tortured to make him reveal where he was supposed to have hiddea the great treasures of Campsoa Gauri.

² Cazi Asker.

³ Shah Tamasp.

⁴ Elias Mirza, King of Shirvan. *Vide Alessandri.*

the third Pærham¹ el Mirza, the fourth Sam el Mirza; Mirza being a title meaning princo. The eldest was then fourteen years old, and his father had left him as a governor a man, named Chiocha Sultan, to govern the kingdom till the boy came of age to rule. This regont was wise, and of a great influence. But it came to pass that some of the other nobles, from envy of the regent, began to make war on one another, and having taken the field, came as far as the tent of Schiacthecmes,² wishing to slay the regent; but the matter was compromised.

¹ Bahram Mirza.

² Shah Tamasp.

THE TRAVELS
OF A
MERCHANT IN PERSIA.

THE

TRAVELS OF A MERCHANT IN PERSIA.

CHAP. I.—The apology the Author makes for this his Narrative.

It is well-known that naturally all men, and especially students, love knowledge, and, therefore, always go out of their way to investigate now things. On this account I have thought that by writing an account of my travels in Persia and narrating all that I have, with my slight genius, been able to learn in the east, in the space of eight years and eight months of my stay there, that these my writings might be interesting to my readers, both by the novelty of the subject and by the information respecting so many great cities, peoples, and foreign customs. And if in any passage I become confused and lengthy, I ask my kind readers' pardon, as it will not proceed from anything but my being unaccustomed to composition; but they may be assured for the rest that I will tell nothing but the truth of what I have seen and heard, not exaggerating anything, but simply narrating as becomes an honest merchant who does not know how to adorn his tale by his words.

And, to begin about the places and regions where I have been, I will say that when Shieo Ismael came against Aladnli¹ in Caramania, in 1507, I happened to be in his army at Arsingan,² where I remained forty days, and afterwards at Cimischasac,³ when I crossed the river Euphrates,

¹ Alla ed Douleh.

² Erzingan. See p. 7, Caterino Zeno.

³ Tchimish Gazak, or birthplace of Zimisces; identified by the Armenians with the ancient Hierapolis, though called by its present name

entering the country of Aladuli. I was present also during his expedition agaist Sirmacchia¹ and the country of Sirvaa,² and in Tauris, on Siech Ismael's return there with his army. I was absent, however, when there were districts and castles taken, and some battles fought and victories gained, by the same Siech Ismael near Dierhec. Nevertheless, I will recount them, having been enabled to learn the facts from different persons who were present. This I did easily, as I knew perfectly the languages of Ajemi,³ Turkey, and Arabia.

CHAP. II.—The cities one finds on leaving Aleppo to go to Persia; of the city of Bir, of Orfa, and of the fountain of Saint Abram; the water of which cures fever; and the fishes there are in it; of a well which cures lepers; and of the magnificence of the above-mentioned city of Orfa.

And to return to my journey, I say that on leaving Aleppo to go to Persia in general, and to Tauris in particular, at three days' journey distant is a place named Bir,⁴ which is on the bank of the river Euphrates on the other side, and is of small extent. Sultan Cartihec⁵ had it walled round, as it was not fortified before, but always had a strong fine castle, which has been besieged by many, and also by Diodar,⁶ who rebelled against the Sultan, without anyone having been able to take it. All the country, the city, and castles which are across the river, have always

after the birth of Zimisces, the Byzantine Emperor; it is now a town of about five thousand inhabitants, but without any relics of the Roman period.

¹ Shirvan.

¹ Schamachi.

² Bir, on the Euphrates; formerly a large town. It was taken and destroyed by Timour, the ancient Apamea.

⁶ Kniid Beg.

⁴ Devetdar, an officer of Mamelukes. Tomant Bey, the last of the Sultans of Cairo, defeated and put to death by Selim I. in 1517, after a gallant resistance to the Turkish arms; he succeeded Campson Gauri.

been, and still are, under the sway of the King of Persia ; on this side of the river, towards Aloppo, all is governed by the Soldan of Cairo. In all the countries, provinces, towns, and fortresses between Aleppo and Tauris, and from Tauris as far as Derbant, on the shores of the Caspian Sea, I have remained some time and traded, as you will learn when I come to relate about them. Two days' journey from Bir there is a large town named Orfa,¹ which the inhabitants and their chronicles say was anciently founded and walled round by the great Nembroth;² and in truth they show very ancient walls extending ten miles in circuit without a ditch round them. There is within it a magnificent castle with walls of immense size and thickness, but also without any fosse, and in it there are two fine lofty columns, equal in size to those of Venice, in the Piazza of St. Mark, on which they say that Nembrot had his idols, and they are still as upright as when they were first erected. In this city is also the place where our father Abraham was about to sacrifice to God his son Isaac (?).

¹ Orfa, anciently called Edessa by the successors of Alexander, and more recently Rhoa. It became a Roman colony, and one of their chief strongholds against the Parthians. At the time of the Crusades it was the residence of the Courtney's, who were called Counts of Edessa, and was taken from them by Saladin. Timour sacked it in 1426 ; it is now subject to Turkey. Kinueir, in his *Geographical Memoir of Persia*, says :—" It is situated in a barren country, sixty-seven miles from Bir and two hundred and thirty-two from Diarbekr. The town is surrounded by a stone wall and defended by a citadel. The ditch, which is broad and deep, is hewn out of the rock, and, when necessary, can be filled with water from the river Scirtus. The houses are well built, and the inhabitants, who are composed of Turks, Arabs, Armenians, Jews, and Nestorians, are said to amount to about twenty thousand souls. The chief ornaments of the city are a magnificent mosque consecrated to Abraham, and the cathedral of the Armenians, now fallen to decay. On a mountain, which overlooks and commands the citadel, are the ruins of a building called by the Arabs the Palace of Nimrod, and several extraordinary subterraneous apartments apparently of great antiquity."

² Nimrod.

And it is said that in this very place at that time there sprang forth an excellent clear fountain, large enough to work seven mills in the city and to irrigate the country round. And where it sprang forth the Christians built a church dedicated to the holy Ahraham,¹ which when they had lost power was changed by the Mahometans into a mosque, while to the present the fountain is called the fountain of Abreham (which in Turkish is "Ibrahim calil bonare"). It is even now much revered by both Christians and Mahometans for the virtue it possesses of curing anyone ill of fever who goes in with faith. In this fountain are many fish,² which are never caught, but are considered sacred.

Six miles outside the city is a wonderful well which heals lepers, provided they go there with devotion, keeping this order. First thou must fast five days, and each day of the fast they drink frequently of the water, and every time they drink they must wash themselves with it, but after the five days they do not wash any more, but still drink up to the tenth or twelfth day; and so the virtue of the holy water frees them from this infirmity, or at least keeps it from going further. And I have seen this effect with my own eyes in Orfa, many who came infirm going away well. On my way back to Aleppo from Tauris, I came to Orfa, where was a Cypriote named Hector, who lived at Nicosia; this man, by going to the sacred well, came back freed from many complaints. This city used to be a regal one, as is seen by the ancient monuments and buildings. There are ten or twelve large churches built of marble, more imposing than I can describe in words. This city has as beautiful and pleasant a country about it as one could wish.³ Towards

¹ Now the mosque of Ibrahim al Khaleel.

² The same tradition prevails now, and the fish alluded to seem as plentiful as ever, it being held sacrilegious to catch them.

³ The region is now very barren.

the west there is a fine hill covored with inhabited villas, and many ancient castles now deserted. There are vast and beatiful gordens close to the city, full of all kinds of fruit, with as great an abundance of provisions os one can desire. Besides, it is on the routes from Bagadet,¹ Persio, Turkey, and Soria;² and tho inhabitants are honest and good. This city is the first in the dominions of Sulton Sciech Ismael, and is a metropolis aod copitol city of o province named Dierbec, in which are six large citios with five hundred fortresses, as sholl ho rolated.

CHAP. III.—Of the castle Jumilen; of the great city Caramit, founded by the Emperor Constantine; and of the fine buildings, churches, and streams there are in it, and which is inhabited more by Christians, Greeks, Armenians, and Jews, than by Mahometans; of the province of Dierbec, its cities, and by whom it is governed.

Two doys' journey from Orfā is a castle nomed Jumilen,³ which is on a mountain, with wolls not very stroug, and with a small fosse dug out of tho rock. Ronnd tho costle is a town of honsos dug into the mountain like grottoes, in which tho peasants live: a low race like gipsies. This district is very arid, and has no water; but io tho grottoes they have excaveted they have mado deep reservoirs, which they fill with water in the spring, and which scrve them the wholo year. Three days' journey froor this castle is the great city of Caramit,⁴ which, according to their chronicles, was built by tho Emperor Constantine, and has o circuit of ten or twelve miles.⁵ It is surrounded by walls of black stone, so ploced, that it appears painted, and has in the whole circumferenco three hundred and sixty towers aod

¹ Bagdad.

² Syria.

³ Jemeleyn.

⁴ Kara Amid, or Amid-Diarbekr. See Zeno.

⁵ An error. The Emperor Constantine repaired the old Roman walls only.

turrets. I rode the whole circuit twice for my pleasure, looking at the towers and turrets of very different forms and sizes;¹ still no one who is not a geometrician would not be pleased to see them, so marvellous are the structures; and in several parts on them I saw the imperial arms carved with an eagle with two heads and two crowns.² In this city are many wonderful churches, palaces, and marble monuments, inscribed with Greek letters. The churches are about the size of that of SS. Giovanni and Paolo or the Frati Minori at Venice. And in many of them are relics of saints and particularly of Saint Quirinus, which, at the time the Christians had the upper hand, were shown openly; and in the church of St. George I saw the arm of a saint in a case of silver, which they say was the arm of St. Peter, and which they keep with great reverence. In this church is also the tomb of Despinacaton,³ the daughter of the King of Trebizond, named Caloianni,⁴ who is meanly buried under a portico near the door of the church in the earth, and above the tomb is a thing like a box one cubit high and one wide and about three in length, built of bricks and earth. There is also a church of St. John, beautifully built, and several others of great beauty and splendour; and while I remember, I must not pass over one of them named the church of St. Mary, the account of which will interest my readers. It is a large edifice,⁵ with sixty altars, as one sees before chapels; the interior is built up with

¹ These towers were built at various periods by the chiefs of the different dynasties that reigned there. There are inscriptions from Valens down to Sultan Selim, that each successive possessor placed on the walls.

² This was the emblem of the Ortokeide and Eioobite rulers, and not the Imperial arms.

³ Despina Khatoon, the latter word meaning "lady" or "madam", and so "queen".

⁴ Calo Johannes, or Black John. See p. 42, Zeno.

⁵ Now the Ooloo Jami.

vaults, and the vaults are supported by more than three hundred columns. There are also vaults above vaults, equally supported by columns; and, as far as I could judge, this church was never covered in, in the middle, as taking into consideration the mode of its erection, and, above all, the sacred christening font, which I saw was in the open air. This baptismal font is situated in the middle of the church, and is of fine alabaster, made like an immense mastehe,¹ carved inside with various designs and most splendidly worked. It is covered by a magnificent block of the finest marble, supported by six columns of marble as clear as crystal, and these columns also are worked with fine and gorgeous carvings, while the whole church is inlaid with marble. Nowadays, the eastern part of this church has been made a mosque, while the other part is in the same state it always has been, as it was the convent where the priests lived; in it there is a wonderful fountain of water, as clear as crystal. This church is so nobly built that it appears like a paradise, so rich is it in fine and splendid marbles, having columns upon columns, like the palace of St. Mark at Venice. There is also a campanile with bells, and in many other churches there are steeples without bells.

This city abounds in water, as springs rise in many places; and it is partly on a plain and partly on a mountain—in the midst of a great plain, round which many fresh-water springs gush forth. It has six gates,² well guarded by corporals and soldiers; the corporal of every gate has ten, twelve, or twenty men under him, and by every gate there is a large clear fountain. There are here, also, people of many religious persuasions in greater numbers than Mahometans, namely, Christians, Greeks, Armenians, and Jews. Each religion has its separate church with its own service, without being molested by the Mahometans.

Among the other rivers flowing through this city is one

¹ A stone seat fastened to a wall.

² It has only four now.

from the East named the Set,¹ which, in the spring, rises wonderfully and flows rapidly towards Asanchif and Gizire,² in Bagadet, entering the river Euphrates, and the two then fall into the Persian Gulf. Custagialu Mahumthec rules this city with the whole province of Dierbec, Sciech Ismael having given it to him as his relative, being his sister's husband, and most devoted to him. This province has six great cities and five large fortresses, as I have said; of which cities there were three, namely, the one we have been relating about, i.e., Caramit,³ the second Orfa, and the third Cartihiert, formerly ruled over by Aliduli,⁴ who had subdued them. At the time that Jacob Sultan passed from this life, they were occupied by Aliduli; although it cost him dear, as, when Sciech Iamael gave the fine province of Dierbec to Custagialu Mahmutbec, he commanded him at all hazards to recover Orfa and Cartihiert, and this commission he, as a faithful vassal, prepared to execute. Therefore, he seized Orfa, cutting all within it to pieces, but could not take Caramit,⁵ since Sultan Custalumt had surrounded it with walls, neither could he take Cartihiert. Custagialu, seeing this, left Orfa, and came to Mardin,⁶ which he took

¹ The Tigris, or Shat (Arabic for river). After the junction of the Euphrates and Tigris, the river, on its way to the Persian Gulf, goes by the name of the Shat ul Arab.

² Ilan Keyf and Jezireh.

³ Kara Amid-Diarbekr.

⁴ Kharput, called by Arabic historians Khutburt and Hiss Ziyad, now Manooriet el Azeczeh in Turkish official documents. It was a chief seat of the Orlokides, and here it was that Balak, the son of Behram, the son of Ortog, confined the gallant crusaders, Jocelyn de Courtenay and Baldwin du Bourg, after they had been liberated by their conquerors, Dejekermish and Soukman Ibu Ortok. Balak destroyed all his prisoners, with the exception of the royal captives, by throwing them over the battlements. It is now fast falling into decay, the fine old castle in the lower part of the town being now in ruins.

⁵ Diarbekr.

⁶ Mardin, the ancient Roman colony of Marde, still a prosperous town. Kinoeir says, "Although in so elevated a situation, it has within itself a plentiful supply of the finest water; and, as the vine is cultivated

without bloodshed or resistance, as they surrendered voluntarily. While Cnstagialu remained at Mardin, Aliduli advanced and endeavored to recover Orfà, ravaging the country, plundering and slaying the inhabitants, and threatening to do great things against Sciech Ismael, who then came to subdue Aliduli, as shall be related at the proper time and place, to the satisfaction of those who desire to hear of the origin of Sultan Sciech Ismael.

CHAP. IV.—Of the castle of Dedu ; of the magnificent city of Mardin, built on a high mountain near a vast plain; of the city of Gizire, situated on an island, and very wealthy; of the royal city of Asanchif, filled with innumerable inhabitants and different religions; the two castles which Custagialu, the relative of Sciech Ismael, is now besieging; and of the wonderful bridge in this city.

Now, continuing my journey one day from Caramit, one arrives at a fine castle named Dedu; which is on an eminence, near a high mountain, and has many villages below it, and is a very rich place. Proceeding a day's journey further, one sees the magnificent city of Mardin, which is

with success in the recesses of the mountains, wine and brandy (arrack) are made by the Armenians in considerable quantities. The houses are all built of fine hewn stone, and appear to be very old. The windows are small, grated with iron, and, from the position of the town on a declivity, added to the narrowness of the streets, the buildings seem, progressively, to rise one on the top of the other. The population of Mardin amounts to nearly 11,000 souls, of which fifteen hundred are Armenians and two hundred Jews; the remainder are Turks, Arabs, and Kurds. The Armenians have here several churches, and a patriarch who was educated at Rome; he is a well-informed man, highly respected even by the Turks. The walls of the city are kept in tolerable repair, and a few old pieces of cannon are mounted on the towers of the castle, which is now in a very dilapidated state, and has never been completely repaired since the place was taken by Timour. Mardin is forty-six furlongs from Mosul and eighteen from Diarbekr. It is the frontier town of the Pashalik of Bagdad, towards Constantinople, and under the government of a Mus-saleem appointed by the Pasha."

ahont four or five milos in circumference, on a high monn-
tain, with a castle a long crosshow shot above the city, and
one milo in circumforence, which, if one looks at from he-
low, is terrifyag, as, whea oao is on the mountain at its
foot, one sees namorous huge rocks as large as houses, and
wchich always seem about to fall. At tho foot of this castle
the city is surroanded by high walls, and, as I bave said,
is sitnated on a bigh mouatain, and has within it heautiful
palaces and mosques. It is true there is a want of water,¹
since the water of this region is salt and scarce ; otherwise,
this would be the finest city of Diarheo, being in a most
beautiful and pleasant climate. This city is so high, that
from within, looking down towards the east, it appears
hangiag over, like tho battlement of a fortress. It is also
appalling, looking from the foot of the walls of the city up
to the height of the castle ; which is so far off, that the
colour hecomes softened off into that of the sky, and this is
seen principally from the plain on the east below the city.
This plain commences at Orfa, goes as far as Bagadet, and
thence extends to Giziroy, wonderfully wide and grand.
This city is inhabited far more by Armeian Christians aud
Jews than hy Mahometans, and each soct officiates in its
separato church, according to their castom.

Travelling from this city for two days towards the East,
one finds another city named Giziroy,² inhabited by the same
people, hy Curds, aad very many other races, and is sitn-
ated on an island. Tho rivor Set spreads itself ont in that
region, flowing hy another moantain, where they are build-
ing a fino castle. This city is governed by a Curd, althoagh
in subjoction to Castagialu Mahumuthec, and abounding in

¹ According to Kinueir this is not the case now. See preceding note.

² Jezireh, on the Tigris, reprecenting the old fortress of Bezabde, was
an important town till the invasion of Timour, by whom it was taken
and destroyed. It was a chief seat of the Atabegs, the ruins of whose
castle still exist.

everything that one can ask. I have thought fit to make mention of this city although it is not on the direct road to Tauris, but on one's right hand on the route to the East. But following the direct road to Tauris in the ordinary manner, I say that in four days from the above-named city of Mirdin, one comes to another city named Asanchif,¹ which is a royal city, and a metropolis of the province of Diarhec, and is ruled over by a lord named Sultan Calil,² who is a Curd, has married a sister of Sultan Sciech Iemael, and is chief of several Kurdish lords of those territories. This city is four or five miles in circuit, and is fortified at the foot of a high mountain, while by the opposite side of the mountain flows the large river Set,³ the city being built

¹ Hesn Keyf.

² Sultan Khalil, the Eioohite. His tomb exists there yet. Hesn el Kabef or Hesn Keyf, three hours and a half from Redhwanis, mentioned by Procopius as Ciphas, while an Armenian author, writing about the first crusade, speaks of it under the name of Harsenko, and says that after the defeat of Baldwin de Beurg, Count of Edessa, and Jocelyn de Courtenay by Dejekermish and Soukman, which resulted in the capture of those two chiefs, Jocelyn was sent a prisoner to Hesn Keyf, while Baldwin was incarcerated at Mosul. They were ransomed for a considerable sum, but fell into the hands of Balak the son of Behram, the son of Ortok, who confined them at Kharput. The modern town is perched on the top of a steep and nearly inaccessible rock, having at the eastern end the old castle built by the Ortokides on the ruins of a more ancient edifice. In a small plain at the foot of the mountains that here press down upon the Tigris, are the ruins of the old town of the same name, the seat of the Ortokides and Eioohites. A noble bridge of three large and three smaller pointed arches, but now in ruins, spanned the river close under the town. But by far the most interesting relics of the place are the myriads of grotts that stretch for three miles in one direction, and occupy the sides of six other separate ravines, scooped out of the hills to the east of, and round the town. They exist, tier above tier, in parallel lines all up to the top, communicating with each other by stairs and by a narrow zigzag path, that passing each cell reaches from the highest cave to the plain. In the same manner the water of some springs on the top of the hill was conducted by a narrow channel past each of them and within easy reach of their inhabitants.

³ Tigris.

between the mountain and the river, and in it there is a countless population of Christians, Mahometans, and Jews—a very rich and trading community.¹ I remained there two months, kept in by the deep snow on the road to Tauris, where I was sent by my correspondents. Custagialu Mahumathcc was there with an army of ten thousand men, since Sultan Calil, the relative² of Sciech Ismael, as we have said, ruled that country, but not in his allegiance, since he was a Curd, and the Curds are disobedient and insubordinate; and although they wear the red caftans³ they are not Suffavians at heart, but only outwardly. Sciech Ismael, therefore, who is of a masterly and sagacious character, easily understood the need of his realm; and as he wished Asanchif and the whole of Diarboc, of which Asanchif is one of the principal territories, to be ruled by Castagialu, who is a Natolian and a true Suffavian of the sect of Sciech Ismael, very devoted, and as nearly related to him, took the measure of sending him in person to take possession of this territory from Sultan Calil. Haviag thus entered Asanchif, as I have said, with ten thousand men, this Sultan Calil, seeing his enemy upon him by order of Sciech Ismael, having hastily furnished himself with provisions, shut himself up in two castles, upon two mountains commanding the city, one being a mile in circuit, and the other about half a mile. In the larger one there are no rooms nor any habitations, only a very steep mountain about a mile round, rising as perpendicularly as a wall, and inaccessible, except in one quarter, where high walls are built, with many towers for the defence of the pass, and the soldiers who lodge in the fortress have their apartments in the towers. The other, which is smaller, is well built, and inhabited, and here it was that Sultan

¹ It is now a miserable village of one hundred and fifty houses only.

² Brother-in-law.

³ Kizzilbashes, or red-heads. The seven Turkish tribes who bore this name were the "Oostkajlu," "Shamlu," "Nikallu," "Baharlu," "Zulkudder," "Kajar," and "Affshar."

Calil, with Calconchatun,¹ his wife, the sister of Sieche Ismael, with the rest of his family, lived. In this city all the lords of Diarhech came together by command of Custagialu Mahumuthec, bringing with them all the men they could, to the number, before mentioned, of ten thousand ; and they kept up fighting night and day, but they gained but little, as the two castles were impregnable, and their horses, lances, arrows, crossbows, and guns availed nothing. Similarly, a mortar of bronze, of four spans, which they brought from Mirdin, where it used always to stand before the door of the fort of that city, was useless. This mortar was cast in that country at the time of Jacob Sultan, and by his orders. And while I was at Asanchif I went several times to see the fighting and the firing of this same mortar ; and Custagialu also had another larger one cast by a young Armenian, who cast it in the Turkish manner—all in one piece. The breech was half the length of the whole piece, and the mortar was five spans in bore at the muzzle. They had only these two pieces to bombard the castles, in which there was no artillery, except three or four muskets of the shape of Azemi,² with a small barrel, which, with a contrivance locked on to the stock about the size of a good arquebus, carry very far. They also had a certain kind of crossbow, made like bows of horn, but made on purpose stronger than those which are drawn by hand, and have a handle, with a contrivance like ours for handing them, and are without nuts, but instead of them they have a bit of iron. Their bolts are long, about half the length of an arrow, and slender ; they are feathered, and have points like the Turkish arrows, and go a great distance. Of these crossbows there were about twenty in one of these castles ; I think it was in the smaller one.

In this city there is a hill, on which they have built a rampart of planks and beams, behind which are a number

¹ Khatuu "lady" or "princess."

² Irak Ajemi.

of men with slings, who fire into the castle, as also those in the castle do into the town. They have made this rampart on the highest point of the city, and from thence they cast down many stones. The two caunons were directed on the castle to sweep away some ontposts, which did a great deal of harm, and had cansed the death of a grcat many of the citizens. They also made a rampart of a nnmber of great beams, which could he raised and lowered like a drawbridge. This was all completed in one night ; and when they wished to fire one of the cannons they raised and then lowered the door ; and many perished en both sides. Since before dawn they began to sound their warlike instruments, con- tinning till the setting of the sun. For two months while I remained there was continual fighting, so that the unfortunate city was half besieged by the number of soldiers and people who came to the fighting, cansing great disturbances. All this was tolerated by Custagialn Mahumuthec in order to have money to pay his soldiers

This city was always considered a separate realm, but subject to the King of Persia. And really the inhabitants appear to me to be very worthy, good people. There are many traders and prettier women than in any other part of Diarbec. Outside the city there are feur snhurbs, as I will relate to you. On the east, in the mountain under the castle, there are a number of grottoes enough to form a city ; below this is another boreugh with very large houses. On the other side of the river are heights far above the stream full of excavated grottoes, with rooms, palaces, with many staircases¹ (hy which they descend to the river to

¹ From the courtyard of the old castle at the eastern end of the modern town, a curious covered way, containing a winding stair of two hundred steps, is scooped out of the solid rock, leading down to the river. A little further on are the remains of a similar stair, which, like the former, was evidently used by the townspeople to supply themselves with water from the Tigris. Where the stairs are at all exposed to the attack of an

draw water), finer than any of the houses. Near this place is another snhnrb of houses, with a magnificent hazaar and a chan for the accommodation of merchants. Going to the city from this bazaar, one crosses the river by a magnificent stone hridge,¹ which is wonderfully built, and in my opinion has no superior. It has five lofty, wide, solid arches; the one in the middle is built on a firm fonndation of stones, two and thrco paces long and more than one pace broad. This fonndation is so large that it is ahont twenty paces in circumference, made in the form of a column, and sustains the centre arch, heing fixed in the middle of the river. The arch is so wide and lofty that a vessel of threo hundred tons, with all its sails set, can pass under it; and, in truth, many a time when I have been standing on it and looking down into the river, the great height has made me shudder. But while I recollect it I will say that I consider three things in Persia great marvels—this hridge of Asanchif, the palace of Assamhei Sultan, and the castle of Cimischasac.²

CHAP. V.—Of the castle of Cafondur; of the town of Bitlis; of the Kurdish tribes; and of the Card, Sarasbec, the lord of that city, who has but little respect for Sciech Ismael.

As I think I have now said quite enough about this city and its state, it secms to me I ought to continne the jourcye I have begun. Therefore, at the end of two months I set out towards Bitlis, and at the end of five days' journey arrived at a castlo called Cafondur,³ inhabited by a Kurdish enemy from the opposito side, they are pitted with innumerable small holes, probahly caused by flights of arrows that had been shot against these exposed parts to prevent any communication with the river.

¹ The foundations are Parthian. The only remaining arch fell in last year—1869.

² Tchimisbgazak. In ruins now.

³ Now Keffendo. The ruins are situated in tho narrow gorge of the Bitlis valley.

chief who governs it in the allegiance of the ruler of Bitlis. It is a small castle built on a peaked mountain, the whole country being mountainous and arid, as from Asanchif to Bitlis the whole road is hilly with some narrow and dangerous passes.

And, although I had promised to describe my journey straight on, nevertheless, for my own satisfaction, and to please my readers, I will make mention of a city a little out of the road named Sert,¹ where nuts and chesnuts grow in large quantities, and also gall for tanning. There are also three fine castles under the kingdom of Asanchif, called Aixu, Sansou,² Arcem;³ this Arcem is governed by a tall Saraoen negro, a slave of Sciech Ismael, named Gamharheo, of gigantic height and strength. Sciech Ismael made him a Sultau, and placed him under Custagialn.

I now recollect that I mentioned before that there were six great cities and five castles in the province of Diarhee; but I did not name them at the time; but now I will give the name of each. The cities are Orfa, Caramit, Mardin, Gizire, Asanchif, and Sert;⁴ the castles are Jumilen,⁵ Dedu, Arcem, Aixu, Sansou, all of which have their particular rulers subject to Custagialn Mahumutbec. But to return to the castle of Cafondur⁶ we have mentioned, near which, in a deep valley, is a stream,⁷ and a fine large chan built, for

¹ Saert, on the Bobtan Su or Eastern Tigris, also called Asaerd and Mobaerla, has been identified by d'Anville and Kinneir as the ancient Tigranocerta, though Mr. Ainsworth more recently has combated that idea, as no ruins are to be seen above ground. Tacitus and Strabo both place Tigranocerta near Nisibin; but coins of Tigranes are to be found here.

² Sassone.

³ Arzen, on the Huzu Arzen, near the village of Giri Hassan, has fallen into ruins, which are still very extensive. Numerous coins have been found here.

⁴ Orfa, Kara Amid (Diarbekr), Mardin, Jezireh, Hosu Keyf, and Saert.

⁵ Jameleyn.

⁶ Keffendo.

⁷ The Bitlis Tchai, rising near the Van Lake, flows into the Bobtan Su or Eastern Tigris.

the accommodation of people travelling during the deep snow, as it snows in an extraordinary manner in that country. I myself was compelled to remain a month in this place, not being able to continue my journey to Bitlis, on account of the deep snow which covered all the country. In this place one gets dear bread, victuals, harley, and fodder, from some Kurdish peasants, who inhabit certain villages on the mountains.¹ This country is perfectly free from robbers, as the whole time I remained in that place I was molested by no one, although I went about a great deal with the servant of our Carimhassi;² and, although he had some of the goods of this same Carimhassi with other merchandise left at Asanchif, to the value of ten thousand ducats, and I had three thousand ducats in my possession, we never had any hindrance. Setting out at the beginning of the month, I arrived at Bitlis as best I could, and remained there about fifteen days expecting Committit of Casvcm, with whom I had been sent by my employers to Tauris to recover some money.

This city of Bitlis³ is neither very large nor walled round, but has a fine castle on a hill in its midst, which is large and well built, and, according to their chronicles and traditione, was founded by Alexander the Great; it is surrounded by high walls, with many turrets and lofty towers. This city, together with the castle, is governed by a Curd named Sarashec, half a rebel against Sultan Sciech Ismael, and who is considered in Persia as the master of this fine fortress. All the Kurds are truer Mahometans than the other inhabitants of Persia, since the Persians have embraccoed the Suffavean doctrine, while the Kurds would not be converted to it: and, though they wear the red caftans, yet in their hearts they bear a deadly hatred to them. This same city is situated among high mountains in a valley; so that it is,

¹ Modern travellers give a very different account of this region.

² Caravan Bashi.

³ Bitlis. See Zeno, p. 8.

as it were, hidden, and one does not perceive it till one is close upon it. And all that region is a kind of receptacle or reservoir of snow, and so much falls that they are only three or four months of the year without it, and they cannot sow their corn before the 15th or 20th of April. Many merchants leave this city to trade in Aleppo, Tauris, and Bursa, as there is nothing to buy in it, nor many merchandise to be obtained, as the inhabitants are all Kurds and a vile race. There are also many Armenians Christians: a people far worse than the Mahometans, though not so much so in this place as throughout the rest of Persia, wherever one finds them. A stream¹. passes through the centre of this city, so that it is well supplied with water. There is also a spring in the castle, which, though it supplies but little water, is sufficient for their wants. In the winter every one collects a quantity of snow, putting it in cisterns, and then makes use of it in summer. This Kurd, Sarasbec, who rules this city, has but little respect for Sultan Scicch Ismael, who, while I was at Tauris, I remember, sent several times to summon him to his court; but he would never trust himself to go there. On this account, Sciech Ismael sent one of his captains, named Sophi Zimmmithee, with about six thousand horsemen, who, when they arrived at a distance of two days' journey from Bitlis, were overtaken by a courier with orders from the sovereign to the captain to return at once to Tauris. He, turning about with his men, went back to Sciech Ismael, whom he found in great perturbation because the Usbec, named Casilbas,² had invaded his country, ravaging the territory of Jesel.³ Ismael determining to revenge himself, assembled all his horse and foot soldiers, and marched against this same Casilbas, who was a kinsman of the great Tumberlan, and ruler of Tar-

¹ The Bitlis Tchai. See p. 156.

² Sheibani Khan, Yeshilbash. See Zeno, p. 55.

³ Yezd.

tary, Cnridin,¹ and the borders, as far as Sammarcant. What followed, I shall keep for a more convenient place, and narrate the whole of it in detail. I will now return to my first undertaking.

CHAP. VI.—Of a sea or salt lake, and of the castles round it; of the city of Arminig, situated on an island of this sea, inhabited solely by Armenian Christians; of the fortresses of Vastan and Van, where the ruler is named Zidibec, a rebel against Sciech Ismael; Bairdunbec was sent against him, and besieged him three months; when the castle capitulated, Zidibec having escaped by night.

Then, setting out from Bitlis, on the second day I arrived at Totouan,² a small fort on a mountain stretching out into the sea, as you shall hear. In this country there is a sea or lake, the water of which is salt; but not so much so as the Adriatic sea. It is three hundred miles long, and a hundred and fifty broad in the widest part, and has round it many inlets, with a fertile region full of villages, the greater number of the villagers being Armenians. Round this sea are seven splendid castles, inhabited by Curds and Armenians, in all of which I have tradod; as on my way to Tanris I went on one side, and came back on the other, as this sea was in the middle of the route. There are four of the castles on the east, namely, Totouan, already mentioned, Vastan, Van,³

¹ Sheihani Khan was a descendant of Gengis Khan, and an enemy of the house of Timour.

² Tadvan, on the Van Lake.

³ Van, the ancient Artemita, according to Kiuneir, is situated two miles from the lake. "It is surrounded with a good wall and deep ditch, and has four gates: one, corresponding with the palace of the governor; another, to the east, called the Gate of Tauris; the third, to the south, called the Middle Gate; and the fourth, fronting the lake, known by the appellation of the Gate *Sinla*. On the north is a castle built on a high and perpendicular hill, which rises abruptly from the plain. This fortress can only be approached by one passage, so narrow as to admit only two persons abreast; it is always supplied with corn and military

and Belgari;¹ on the west are Argis,² Ahalgiris, and Calata.³ This Calata was anciently a largo city, as can be seen by the buildings,⁴ hut is now reduced to a small fortress. Between Totouan and Vastan is a lofty island in the sea,⁵ two miles from the mainland, all of hard rock, on which is a small city about two miles in circumference, the city being the same size as the island. This city is named Arminig, is very populous, and inhabited only by Armenian Christians, without one Mahometan; it has many churches, all for the services of Armenian Christians; of those, that of St. John is the largest, and has a steeple made like a tower, so high that it overlooks the whole city, and among the hills is one so large, that when it is struck, it resonnds over all the mainland. Opposite the city or island is a large gulf, with a delightful plain with many villages inhabited by Armenian Christians, with much cultivated land, and beautiful gardens with trees that produce every sort of fruit. This region has a delightful and healthy atmosphere, and all round it are mountains so high, that they appear to touch the sky; and, not only in the circuit of this gulf, but also round the whole sea there are bleak mountains covered with eternal snow.

stores, and in the centre of the works stands the palace of the Aga of the Janissaries. This city is abundantly supplied with water and provisions; the houses are built of stone and tile; the streets are spacious and well paved; and the population is said to amount to fifty thousand souls, two-thirds of which number are Turks, and the remainder Kurds and Armenians. The air is pure, and the environs of the city delightful."

¹ Peygri, now Beygir Kellah, hardly on the lake, but a short distance from it, on a small stream falling into the same.

² Arjish, Ardh-el Jivaz.

³ Iklat, a very ancient Armenian town. Subsequently it became the seat of the Eioohites, and then of the Ak-koinloo.

⁴ Arjish (the ancient Arzes) is a town containing six thousand inhabitants, situated on the north-west side of the lake, three days' journey from Van.

⁵ Island of Ak-Tamar, the seat of the Catholicos of the Armenians, described by Layard.

At two days' journey from this place, one finds the castle of Vastan,¹ which was demolished by Sciech Ismael, and only a town with a hazaar remains. It is on a large gulf of this sea, with numbers of villages, all inhabited by Curds. There is a greater abundance of provisions here than in any other place, and a good deal of white honey is made here, which from time to time is sent by caravans to Tauris to be sold, together with fiao ointment and cheese.

Proceeding a day's journey further is the fortress of Van, which is built on a mountain or hill of hard rock, from which fresh water springs forth everywhere; it is more than a mile in circumference, but narrow and long, like the rock on which it is built; also on the summit of this rock, in one part which is as steep as a wall, is a fountain the water of which is used by all in the fortress.² This citadel is ruled over by a Kurdish chief named Zidibec, who is a great lord, and very proud, from having in his possession this fine fortress with many other castles in these mountains. He had money coined with his own stamp of gold, silver, and copper. Below the castle is a large town, and the greater part of the inhabitants are Armenians, but within the castle they are all Curds. This place is a good mile from the sea, and is well supplied with provisions. This chief has many sons, who govern the castles round; and, as I have said, he is very arrogant from his power, and is a rebel against Sciech Ismael, who at another time sent one of his captains named Bairamboc with ten thousand picked troops against him. While I was in Tauris, I learnt all the events from soldiers who had returned, but in particular from a chief of bombardiers, a good man, and a great friend of mine, named Camusabec of Trehizond. I heard that when Bairambeo arrived beneath

¹ Vastan in ruins to the south of the lake, nearly opposite the island of Aktamar.

² There are numerous cuneiform inscriptions on the castle walls, of which it is curious he should make no mention.

the castle with his army, Zidihec, full of treachery, sent one of his men to Bairamhec to ask a safe conduct for him to come and kiss his hand. Having obtained his demand, Zidiheo came down from the castle with a few companions all unarmed; and, having arrived in the presence of Bairam-hec, saluted him in the Persian or Sufavean manner, saying that he wondered that his Excellency had come to that place with that army, there being no necessity for it, as although in the past he had been disobedient, yet for the future he wished to be a faithful vassal of Sultan Sciech Ismael—inclining his head to the ground, as he did whenever he named Sciech Ismael, as if out of reverence for that great name, showing much humble respect in his discourse, as it was his duty to do. And at length he warmly entreated Bairam-beo that, when he returned to the noble presence of Sciech Ismael his sovereign, he would deign to defend him, and help him to make his apologies; this the commandor Bairambeo promised to do. And, besides the promise, he made him a banquet, magnificent enough for any king. After they had dined together in the plain, Zidihec began to make excuses, asking pardon of Bairamhec for the trouble and difficulty he had had on his account, coming to that place with so large an army; and, rising to his feet, said: "My lord, send with me whomever you please, and I will surrender the castle into his hands; and I beg of you to give me two dayes' time, that I may make ready to go with you to the presence of Sultan Sciech Ismael." The general conceded his request; and, having called a nobleman named Mansorbeo, ordered him to go with Zidihec to the castle, and to take it in charge until orders came from Sciech Ismael, and also promised Zidibeo to use his influence with Sciech Ismael, that he might remain master of the castle and of the fine territory.

Having made this agreement and these conditions, Zidibec took leave, and with him went this same Baron Mansorbcc,

with perhaps a hundred men, intending to take possession of the castle in the name of Sciech Ismael. When they arrived at the gate, Zidiheo entered first, and after him Mansorhec and his men, when suddenly the gate was shut, and fifteen hundred armed men appoared, who had been standing prepared for this, and cut to picces Mansorbeo with all his men. Zidihoc then went with the same soldiers towards the camp, where, as he had given his word of honour to Bairamhec, he found him with all his soldiers without suspicion, and unarmed. Then ho began holdly to fight against the whole army, of which a great number of men were killed, and of his own men about three huuiderd were killed, and a good many others wounded; and Bairamhec, the general, rcccived three wonnds. Zidihec retreated as well as he could into the castle, and, closing the gates, fortified himself in it, considering himself securu against assault. After this sncess, Bairamhec, having two moderate-sized cannons in his camp, began to batter the castle; but they were able to do no harm, as the walls were too strong and the gnnners too little skilled. And after besieging the castlo for three months, the artillerymen at last found a place where a fountain sprang forth inside the fortress, whence the besieged got their water. Near this spot they planted the two cannons, and fired so mnch that the spout by which the water issued broke into several pieces, and the water which used to rise all went downwards. Thus at once the castle was at their mercy; and Zidihec, now seeing himself insecure, determined when night came to escape from that place; so descending from the walls with about fifty of his court, without saying a word to anyone else, he took his treasures, his wife, and two daughters, and, after disguising himself, fled across the mountains to some of his other strongholds. The following morning the tidings were known everywhere that Zidiheo had fled; therofore tho people sent at once to Bairamhec, offering to surrender the

castle if he would ensure to them their lives and property. Bairambeo being wearied by the siege, which had already lasted three months, promised it on his honour, and conceded their request. Then they opened the gates to him, and when he had entered they told him of the flight of Zidibec with his court during the night. Let every one judge for himself of the indignation and grief he felt in not getting him into his hands. And, having appointed a governor with sufficient troops to keep the place, he returned to Tauris, where Sciech Ismael caused great festivities and games to be held in sign of rejoicing, as they are accustomed to do on receipt of like news. He then left Tauris with many of his lords, and went to Coi¹, where he remained some time, occupying himself with the chase and other amusements.

CHAR. VII.—Of the castle of Elatamedia; of the city of Merent and of Coi; of the city of Tauris, where the kings of Persia have their residence; of the castle, the palaces, fountains, and baths there are in it; of the wonderful mosque in the midst of the city; of the quality of the men and women; and of the customs and trade of this city.

Now after having abandoned my first proposition in order to give some information about this interesting affair, I must return to the abovementioned castle of Van, from which, after three days' journey distant, one arrives at another castle called Elatamedia, inhabited and ruled over only by Turcomans, a fine race. Proceeding three days from this place, one arrives at Merent,² which in old times was a large city, as is seen by the ancient buildings; it is situated in a

¹ Khoi.

² Marand, a town about halfway between Tabreez and Khoi, seems, by the name, to denote the town mentioned; but the traveller here expressly states that it is between Van and Khoi; so we must look for it somewhere on the blank space of Kiepert's map to the east of Lake Van.

heautiful plain with many streams and gardens, but within there is only a small town and a hazaar. Three days' journey farther on, lies a fine large plain, surrounded by high mountains, in the midst of which is a large place named Coi, which in ancient times was a large city, as can be seen by the great space occupied by the ruins. In this place, it was anciently the custom (which is still observed) for the troops to assemble whon the King of Persia was about to take the field with his army. This city, a short time ago, was in ruins; hut when Sciech Ismael succeeded to the throne he hegan to rebuild it, and has now restored the greater part. And, among othor things, a large palaco has been built, which in the Persian tongue is called Douler Chana,¹ signifying "pleasant abodo." This palaco is all walled round with bricks, and is of great extent, with an Arim² all together; within there are many halls and chamfers, and it is built in one vanlt—that is to say, with one flooring; and it has a large and magnificout garden. It has two gates, with two fino courts, heautifully decorated, and these entrancos are like two cloistors of a convent of friars. Before the gate which looks west are three round turrets, each of them eight yards in circumferenco, and about fifteen or sixteen high. These turrets are built of the horns of Namphroni stags, and it is considered that theroy are none like them in the world. The Persians also consider these things very magnificent. Thereforo for show they have built these three turrets of the horns of these animals, as the mountains are rocky and full of game. And Sultan Sciech Ismael boasts that he and his lords have killed all theso animals. And truly Sciech Ismael takes the greatest pleasure in the chaso; and to show that he is a skilful huntore he has had these three turrets built, and takes more delight in living in this place than in Tanris, as this country is well adapted for hunting. In this city, they also make much crimson dye,

¹ Doulet Khaneh.

² Harem.

by using some red roots, which they dig out of the ground with spades and hoes, and then take to Ormns, and they are employed as red dyes in many parts of India.

One day's journey from this place is a small town named Merent,¹ from which a day's journey further is another small place named Sophian,² situated in the plain of Tauris, at the foot of a mountain; it is a beautiful country, and has many rivulets and gardens.

From this, one arrives at the great and noble city of Tauris, where was the abode of Darius, King of Persia, who was afterwards defeated and slain by Alexander the Great, and which has always been the seat of the kings of Persia. Here lived Sultan Assamboi,³ and, after him, Jacob Sultan, his son. This great city⁴ is about twenty-four miles in cir-

¹ Marand. See p. 164.

² Sofian, on the Ak Tchai, a tributary of the Aras, on the direct route to Tabreez.

³ Hassan Beg.

⁴ Tauris, or Tabreez, as it is now called, is supposed by most to be the ancient Eobatana. Kinneir says:—

"The Persians conceive Zobeida, the celebrated wife of Haroun-ul-Rashid to be its founder; but, as they are in general very ignorant regarding the history of their cities, little reliance can be placed on any information obtained from them. That Tauris was a favourite residence of Haroun-ul-Rashid cannot be denied, and, although he might not actually have founded the city, he may yet have improved and embellished it to a considerable degree. It was, in the days of Chardin, one of the largest and most populous cities in the East, and contained, according to that traveller, five hundred thousand inhabitants. But no town has experienced to a greater degree the ravages of war. Situated towards the frontiers of contending empires, it has alternately been in the hands of the Turks, Tartars, and Persians, and has been taken and sacked eight different times; but its ruin has been chiefly owing to the number of earthquakes, which have at different times levelled its proudest edifices with the dust."

"Tabreez does not now contain more than thirty thousand inhabitants, and is, upon the whole, one of the most wretched cities I have seen in Persia. It is seated in an immense plain at the foot of a mountain, on the banks of a small river, whose waters are consumed in the cultivation of the land. It is surrounded with a decayed wall, and the only decent house in the place is a new barrack, erected by the Prince for the accom-

conference in my judgment, and is without walls, like Venice. In it there are immense palaces, as memorials of the kings who have ruled over Persia. There are many splendid houses.

Two streams flow through it; and half a mile outside the city, towards the west, there is a large river of salt water, which is crossed by a stone bridge. In all the neighbouring region there are fountains, the water of which is brought by underground aqueducts. The numerous palaces of former kings are wonderfully decorated within, and covered with gold on the outside, and of different colours; and each palace has its own mosque and bath, which are equally overlaid, and worked with minute and beautiful designs. Every citizen of Tauris has his room all overlaid in the inside, and decorated with ultramarine blue, in various patterns; many mosques, also, are so worked as to cause admiration in all who behold them; among these, there is one in the middle of the city so well built that I do not know how I am to describe it; but at any rate I will attempt to do so in a way. This mosque is called "Imareth alegeat", and is very large, but has never been covered in in the centre. On the side towards which the Mahometans worship, there is a choir that is a vault of such a size that a good howshot would not reach the top; but the place has never been finished, and all round it is vaulted in with fine stones, which are sustained by marble columns, which are so fine and transparent that they resemble fine crystal, and are all equal in height and thickness, the height being about five or six paces. This mosque has three doors, of which two only are used, and are modations of his troops. The ruins of the ancient city are very extensive and very mean, being nothing but a confused mass of old mud walls.

"The observations of the gentlemen of the Mission give the latitude of Tabreez in 38 deg. 10 min. N., and 46 deg. 37 min. E."

The population and trade of Tabreez have greatly increased since Kinneir's time, partly owing to the intercourse with Russia; it has now nearly eighty thousand inhabitants.

arched; they are about four paces wide and about twenty high, and have a pillar, made not of marble, but of stone of different colours, while the rest of the vault is all of layers of decorated plaster. In each doorway there is a tablet of transparent marble, so clear and fine that one might see one's face in it. And the mosque can be seen from the whole country round about; and even at the distance of a mile, one can clearly see these tablets, which are three yards each way, the door which opens and shuts being three yards broad and five high, of huge beams cut into planks, covered with large cast bronze plates, smoothed down and gilt. Before the principal door of the mosque is a stream flowing under stone arches. In the midst of the edifice is a large fountain, not springing there naturally, but brought artificially, as the water comes in by one pipe and is emptied by a second, as they please. This fountain is a hundred paces in length and as many in breadth, and is six feet deep in the middle, where is built a beautiful platform or pedestal on six pilasters of the purest marble, all overlaid, and carved inside and out. The building is very ancient, but the platform has been recently put up, and there is a bridge leading from the side of the fountain on to the platform. There is a beautiful boat like a bennetaur, which Sultan Scieb Ismael used often when a boy (as he still does now) to get into, with four or five of his lords, and row about the fountain.

I will say no more about this, but will go on to mention two enormous elm-trees, beneath each of which more than a hundred and fifty men can stand; and here they preach,¹

¹ The followers of what is called the "Shiah sect", curse the memories of Abu Bekr, Omar, and Othman, whom they look upon as usurpers of Ali's rights; and they despise all the "Soonee", or body of traditions collected during their reigns, which are venerated by all orthodox Mahometans. They believe that Ali, the beloved son-in-law of Mohammed, is almost equal to the Prophet himself; and that if Mohammed is the Apostle, Ali and his descendants, the twelve Imams, were the Vicars

declaring and setting forth the new faith or Suffavean doctrine. The preachers are two doctors of this sect; and one of them, as many people say, taught Sultan Sciech Ismael, and the other is required to attend with care to preaching and converting people to their sect.

This city has also a fine castle on the east at the foot of a hill, but which is uninhabited, and has no other rooms in it but a magnificent palace, which is built partly into the hill; it is most wonderful, as you will learn from what I am about to tell you. This palace is very lofty, and seems solid half way through. Outside there is a flight of steps eight or ten paces long, and three broad, which mounts to the royal gate of the palace; the entrance is in a very large hall, on one side of which is a solid cube, intended to be a hiding place, sustained by four large columns, five paces and about twice the grasp of my arms in girth. The capitals of these columns are wonderfully carved; the cement is of a certain mixture or stone like fine jasper, as I really believed it to be; but trying it with my knife, I found it was not hard. They were placed here not so much for use as for show, as the cube (dome) is sustained by strong thick walls. Then, further in, there is another long narrow hall, with many little

of God. These Imams all suffered martyrdom, except Mahadi, the last, and he is said to have mysteriously disappeared, and is believed to be still alive. The twelve Imams are—

1. Ali, the son-in-law of Mohammed.
 2. Hassan } his sons.
 3. Hossein }
 4. Zein al Ahudeen. Put to death by Caliph Walid I.
 5. Mohammed al Badkir. Put to death by Caliph Hashem.
 6. Jaffer al Sadick.
 7. Moossah Kazim, from whom the Suffavean family is descended.
 8. Ali Riza; buried at Meshed.
 9. Mohammed al Takec.
 10. Ali al Nukee.
 11. Hassan Askeri.
 12. Mohammed al Mahadi. Mysteriously disappeared.
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chambers like rooms ; and entering further, one finds a vast hall with many windows looking on to the city, since the palace is above it, as I have said, standing on a hill overlooking the city and the country round for a long way. All these rooms are beautifully decorated with layers of cement of various colours. All the ceilings of the rooms are decorated and colored with gilding and ultramarine blue. The large hall looking on to the city has many columns round it, which seem to support the roof ; still it is kept up by strong walls, and they are placed there for the sake of appearance, as they are of the most beautiful marbles, not white, but in colour like silver, so that in each one of them are reflected the city, the hall, all the columns and people there. And at each window of this hall, there are pilasters of fine marble of the same kind and appearance as the columns, which reflect in the same way but in a greater degree, as they are flat, so that one can see not only the city, but also the surrounding country, the mountains and hills more than twenty miles distant, all the gardens and the great plain.

This city has, besides, some other great advantages. The principal one is its being situated in a marvellous position at the head of a fine large plain towards the east, in a place like a small inlet at the foot of a high mountain, though this belongs to the chain ten miles further to the east. On the west there is another, but not very extensive, plain, stretching three miles from the city.

The air here is so fine and salubrious as to induce people to remain willingly and with great enjoyment ; nor did I ever see anyone in bad health there. They almost all eat mutton there, which has a very delicate taste. The beef there is most vile ; so that but little is eaten by the inhabitants. Their bread is of flour as white as milk ; they have little wine, but still there are some red wines, and some wines white in colour, and tasting like malinsey. There

are also a good many fish, which are caught in a lake,¹ a day's journey distant from the city, which is salt like those of Vastan and Van. The fish have not a natural taste, but have a strange smell and taste of sulphur. To this place there are also brought many sturgeon,² smaller than those of the Mediterranean, but still excellent. There is delicious caviar also, which, as well as the sturgeon, is brought from the Caspian Sea, nine days' journey distant from this place, from a castle named Maumutaga. There also come from this sea fresh , as large as men, and so good that they are better than the flesh of pheasants; but they only come during the spring, as their season only lasts two months.

There are also the common fruits, as over all the world, few nuts, most delicious olives, and Adam's apples; but no oil, oranges, or lemons. These fruits, which fail in spring-time, are brought from Chilan,³ a little province on the southern shore of the Caspian Sea, extending twenty-five miles from the sea. This city is also ornamented with numerous gardens, in which there are the common herbs like cabbages, lettuces, greens, and other small vegetables, like those at Venice; rape and carrots, small radishes, marjoram, parsley, and rosemary. There is also much rice, and great abundance of corn and barley.

Besides all this, the city is thickly inhabited by Persians, Turkomans, and gipsies, who are treated as people of the Suffavean sect, and wear the red caftans like the rest of the people. There are a good number of Armenian Christians; but beyond Tanris there are no Christians of any kind to be found. There are also Jews, but not permanent inhabitants, as they are all foreigners from Bagdad, Cassan, and Jesede,⁴ and come to Tanris, are Suffavean subjects, and live in

¹ The Lake of Urumea, into which the Adschy Tchai, the river close to Tahreez, flows.

² Ghilan.

³ From the Caspian.

⁴ Bagdad, Kashan, and Yezd.

alcharan earadi¹ like all foreign merchants. Of the inhabitants you will learn wonderful things. The men are ordinarily taller than in our country, are very bold, robust in appearance, and of high spirit. The women are short in proportion to the men, and as white as snow. Their dress is the same as always has been—the Persian costume—wearing it open at the breast, showing their bosoms and even their bodies, the whiteness of which resembles ivory. All the Persian women, and particularly in Tauris, are wanton, and wear men's robes, and put them on over their heads, covering them altogether. These are robes of silk, some of crimson cloth, woollen cloth, velvet, and cloth of gold, according to the condition of the wearer. A quantity of velvet and cloth of gold is brought from Bursa and Cafâ. In this city there is an order, as throughout the whole of Pereia, that a revenue farmer levies all the excise and tolls as taxes and customs. There is also a vile usage, which has always existed, that every merchant who has a shop in the bazaar pays each day either two or six aspri, or even a doucat, according to their business; likewise, a payment is fixed for the masters of every art according to their condition. Also the harlots, who frequent the public places, are bound to pay according to their beauty, as the prettier they are the more they have to pay; and far worse than the others I have mentioned is this cursed, horrible, disgraceful custom, the evil odor of which ascends to heaven; and from the following instance you may learn their iniquities, as in this city there is a public place and school of Sodomy, where likewise they pay tribute according to their beauty.

All the money they collect is for the private advantage of the revenue-farmers, and no difference is made between Christians and Mussulmans in going to the prostitutes. Besides these taxes, they have the tariff, of which the Christians pay ten per cent. on every kind of merchandise from

¹ Caravan serai.

whatever quarter it may come. The Mussalmans only pay five per cent. on everything; and if they do not sell in Tauris, and the goods are in transit, they do not pay per cent., but weigh the whole quantity and pay a certain proportion on it. In a load worth forty or forty-five ducats, or one of fine or heavy goods, the payment is limited. Of everything one hrys in this city, what one has to pay is also fixed according to the class of merchandise, and all is collected by the revenue-farmer. At the time I was in Tauris, a certain man named Capirali held this office and received an income of sixty thousand ducats from these taxes. There is much traffic in this city, and there are silks of every quality, raw and manufactured. There are rhubarb, musk, ultramarine blue, pearls of Orimes¹ of every water, coin of all sorts, ink dye of great beauty, fine indigo, woollen and other cloths from Aleppo, Bursa, and Constantinople, since crimson silks are exported from Tauris to Aleppo and Turkey, and are paid for in cloth and silver.

CHAR. VIII.—Description of the royal palace built by Assambei outside the city of Tauris.

Having given full enough particulars of the different matters of this city, I do not think I ought to omit to mention a beautiful palace which the great Sultan Assambei had built; and though there are many large and beautiful palaces in the city built by the kings, his predecessors, yet this, without comparison, far exceeds them all; so great was the magnificence of Assambei that, up to the present time, he has never had an equal in Persia. The palace is built in the centre of a large and beautiful garden, close to the city, with only a stream dividing them to the north, and in the same circumference a fine mosque is built with a rich and useful hospital attached. The palace in the Persian language is

¹ Ormuz.

called Astihisti,¹ which, in our tongue, signifies "eight parts", as it has eight divisions. It is thirty paces high, and is about seventy or eighty yards round, divided into eight parts, which are subdivided into four rooms and four anterooms, each room having the anteroom towards the entrance, and the rest of the palace is a fine circular dome. This palace is under one roof, or, as one should say, with one storey, and has only one flight of steps to ascend to the dome, the rooms and anterooms, since the staircase leads to the dome, and from the dome one enters the rooms and ante-rooms.. This building, on the ground floor, has four entrances, with many more apartments, all enamelled and gilt in various ways, and so beautiful that I can hardly find words to express it. This palace, as I have already said, is situated in the centre of the garden, and is built on a terrace, or rather the mastabé has been raised round for appearance, being a yard and a half high and five yards wide, like a piazza. By every door of the palace there is a way paved with marble leading to the mastabé. By the door of the chief palace there is a small flight of steps of the finest marble by which one mounts to the mastabé, which is all made of fine marble, while in the centre of the mastabé there is a channel of a streamlet paved and skilfully worked out in marble. This streamlet is four fingers broad and four deep, and flows all round in the form of a vine or a snake. It rises at one part, flows round, and at the same place again the water is conducted away elsewhere. For three yards above the mastabé is all of fine marble. All below is plastered in different colours, and is conspicuous far off like a mirror.

The terrace of the palace has for each angle a gutter or spout, which spurts out water, and the spout is immensely large, and made in the form of a dragon; they are of bronze, and so large that they would do for a cannon, and so well

¹ Hesht Bchesht, eight heavens.

made as to he taken for live dragons. Within the palace, on the ceiling of the great hall, are represented in gold, silver, and ultramarine hblue, all the battles which took place in Persia a long timo since ; and soine embassies aro to bo seen which came from the Ottoman to Tauris presenting thomselves before Assamhei, with their demands and the answer he gavo them written in tho Persian charactor. There are also represented his hunting expeditions, on which he was accompanied by many lords, all on horseback, with dogs and falcons. There are also seen many animals like elephants and rhinocerases, all signifying advcatures which had happened to him. The ceiling of the great hall is all decorated with beautiful gilding and ultramarino. Tho figures aro so well drawn that they appear liko real living human heings.

On the floor of tho hall is spread a magnificent carpet, apparently of silk, worked in the Persiaa manner with beau-tifnl patterns, which is round, and of tho exact measurement the palaco requires ; likewise in tho other rooms the floor is all covered. This hall has no light except what it gots from the anterooms and chambers. Still there are entrances from the centre hall to the apartments and antorooms where there are many windows all giving light, each anteroom having only one window, hut that one as large as the whole side of a room, and beautifully fitted. Thus when these doors are open, the palaco, or rather tho hall, is so brilliant with those beautifnl figures, that it is a wonder to see. This is the palaco where Assamhei used to give audience. About a howshot from the palaco there is a harem of one storoy, so large that a thousaud women might conveniently live theroy in different rooms. Among the rooms is a large one like a hall, with the walls all adorned with gold and plaster, looking liko emerald and many other colours. The ceiling of this harem is ornamented with gold and ultramarine. From this hall theroy are many chambers on every side, with all the

doors superbly decorated with gold and blue, and many signs and letters made of mother of pearl, in beautiful patterns; and through the centre of this hall flows a stream of pure water, a cubit in breadth and as much deep. On one side of this harem is a summer-house four yards square, beautifully decorated with enamel, gold, and ultramarine blue, in patterns really a wonder to see. Here the queen stays with her maidens to do needlework, according to their custom.

And in truth it would be too long and too tedious for me to recount evarything about the palace and the harem, which is in the same garden, and has three entrances, one to the south, another to the north, and the third to the east. That to the south is arched with bricks, but not very large, and leads to the garden, the palace being a bowshot distant; passing through the gate, fifteen paces off on the left is a gallery, a bowshot in length and six paces broad, which from one end to the other has seats of the finest marble, with a kind of railing with a design, as an ornament in relief of plaster, of various colours, quite a wonder to behold from the excellency of the workmanship. The roof is all ornamented with gold and plaster. This gallery is supported from one end to the other by columns of fine marble; in front of it there is a fountain, as long as the gallery, of fine marble likewise, which is always full of water, and is twenty-five paces broad. In it there are always four or five couple of swans; round it there are rose trees and jessamines, and a smooth road leading direct to the royal palace.

On the north side, one may enter a certain place like a cloister, paved with brick, with seats of marble round it. This place is so large that it will hold three hundred horses, as the lords who came to the court used to dismount here when Assambei was reigning. In this place there is a door entering the garden on the way to the king's palace, which is an

arch fifteen yards high and four yards wide, beautifully worked in plaster from top to bottom. The door is made of marble, in one square carved piece about four yards each way; its height about a yard and a half; its breadth about the same. The rest of the marble is cut into designs, and when it is exposed to the rays of the sun it shines so brilliantly on both sides, that it appears like crystal, since the marbles found in Persia do not resemble ours, but are much finer; they are not opaque, but are more a species of crystal. Beyond this lordly door there is a fine paved road leading to the royal palace.

The other door, towards the east, is on an immense maidan or piazza, and leads into the garden. This door has a wall of bricks, in the form of an arch, three yards high and two broad, without any decorations, but simply whitened with plaster, and through it there is a fine large fountain. Over this there is a large edifice with many rooms, and a covered hall looking over the garden. On the side towards the maidan there is an arched gallery, so white as to exceed in whiteness anything I think I have ever seen. Into this building Assambei used to retire with many lords whenever a feast was made on this maidan, and frequently when ambassadors came they used to put them up here, as it was a fine place and had many apartments. This door is further than the others from the royal palace, with a splendid view of the maidan, on which are the mosque and the hospital I have already mentioned. This mosque was built by Sultan Assambei, is very large, and has within many rooms all decorated with plaster, gold, and blue.

Also the hospital or meristan, is large, having many buildings, and within it is even more beautifully ornamented than the mosque, having many large wards about ten yards long and four broad, each of these being fitted with a carpet to its measurement. Between the hospital and the mosque there is a wall only, and outside the hospital, from one side to

the otbor, is a mastebo ono cubit high and two yards broad, and tbere used to be an iron chain drawn from one sido to tho other ronnd tho horder of the mastebe; so that no borse might approach either the mosqne, hospital, or mastebe. At the time that Assambei and Jacob Sultan roigned, more than a thousand poor people lived in the hospital, and the chain was kept until the deatb of Jacob Sultan, and was then taken away by the Torkomans. All tbese edifices were raised by the great Assambei, who was so excellent and worthy a man that there has never been his equal in Persia, as he conquered by force of arms many Persian lords who rebelled against him. ~ And in the contest with the Ottoman Sultan he gained glory by defeating and rontiog his army, though another time he came off worst, as you will learn from what I am now about to relate to you.

CHAR. IX.—Caloianni, King of Trebizond, sends an ambassador to Assambei, King of Persia, entreating his assistance against the Ottoman Grand Turk; the latter promises every aid if he would give him his daughter as his wife; he gives her on the condition that she may observe the Christian faith, and sends her to Tauris.

At this time there reigned in Trehizond a Christian king named Caloianni¹, who had a daughter named Despinacaton,² who was very beautiful, being considered the most beautiful woman of that time, and throughout Persia was spread the fame of her loveliness and grace. As this kiog was already moch molested and troubled in his peaceful dominios by the Ottoman Grand Turk, and fioding himself in a bad way and in danger of losing his kingdom, considering the great powor of his enemy, he resolved to send an ambassador to Tauris, where Sultan Assambei³ lived, to ask

¹ Calo Johannes. See Zeno, p. 9.

² "Queen Despina."

³ Uzun Hassau, at the time of his marriage with Despina, was not King of Persia but only Prince of Diarbekr. Trebizond was taken by Mahomet II, Grand Turk, in 1461.

his assistance, knowing him to be a magnanimous monarch. The ambassador, who was most desirous to obtain the request of his sovereign and to return with full satisfaction, entreated Assamhei not to refuse to give aid to his master, showing him many reasons why the destruction of the Christian king would cause harm to his dominions. Assamhei being young and unmarried, and already in love with the above-mentioned lady from having heard so much talk of her beauty and talents, replied to the ambassador that if his master would give him his daughter as his wife, he would aid him against the Ottoman not only with his army, but also with his purse, and in person. The ambassador departed with this answer, and when he came to his sovereign expressed to him what Assamhei demanded. Seeing that he had not sufficient power to resist the enemy who just then was attacking him, he was induced to agree to the request of Assamhei, giving him his daughter as his wife, on the condition that she might observe the Christian faith and keep a chaplain to perform the sacred offices as ordered by our true religion.

Having made this compact Despiaacaton arrived in Tauris accompanied by many lords: some sent by Assamhei and many others coming from Trebizond. There also came with her many young maidens, daughters of noblemen of high condition, who were always to remain with her. She had also a greatly venerated chaplain, a worthy person, who always celebrated the eucharist according to the Christian custom while she lived with Ussuncassano, which she did a long time, and always in observance of our faith. She had her chapel in a separate place, saying her prayers there whenever it pleased her. This lady had four children: the eldest was Assamhei;¹ the others were daughters, two of whom are still alive, and Christians.

¹ He was strangled by his half-brothers after Uzun Hassan's death.

CHAP. X.—The Ottoman makes preparations against Assambei and Calcianni, who send ambassadors to the Venetians, requesting their alliance, and asking for artillery; in the meantime, the Ottoman sends a Bash, with his troops, to invade Persia. Assambei having marched against him, defeats him in a battle. The Grand Turk, collecting another army, sends against him and defeats him. He then retreats to Tauris. Afterwards, marching against the Soldan who had taken from him the city of Orfa, he defeats him near that place.

The Ottoman, in the year 1472, having heard fully of the compact and treaty that Assamhei had made with the King of Trebizond, and being very angry and indignant with it, determined to prove the power and valour of these two monarchs, and therefore made great levies of men to go against Persia. Assambei receiving intelligence of it, not less full of anger and indignation than his enemy, ordered all his lords to assemble their troops with the greatest possible speed, since the King of Trebizond had informed him of the great preparations of the Turk against them both. It seems that Calcianni had relatives at Venice, or else a close friendship with some noblemen. Therefore Assamhei, in accordance with his father-in-law, determined to do his utmost, and therefore sent two ambassadors to Venice, requesting their alliance to be able to subdue their Ottoman foe, giving him the chastisement his audacity deserved. And, as I hear, the ambassadors asked for artillery and gunners, and the Most Illustrious Government, for the defence of the King of Trebizond, gave as much as was demanded by the ambassadors, who were greatly honored. A ship being equipped with the pieces of artillery on board, the ambassadors embarked to go to Giazza, as was their master's command. While the ambassadors were treating in Venice, Sultan Assambei assembled his army with great celerity, about thirty thousand fighting men, and marched, full of rage and fury, against the Ottoman foe, who had

already sent a large force to ravage the Persian territory in the vicinity of Areingan. Assambei, on arriving in the beautiful plain of Arsingan, remained there some days to refresh his troops, who, having been levied near Tauris, had had a long march. The Ottoman army, from fear of such a force of Persians, retreated towards Tecat; and Assambei, having rested his troops, who, in the meantime, had been largely reinforced from Persia, determined to attack the Turke. There being a distance of two days' journey on a good road between the two armies, he advanced to within a mile of the Turkish camp, and having pitched their tents in the morning Assambei sent notice to the Bassà in command of the Ottoman army that on the following day early he would join battle with them. Matters being in this case, at the hour fixed both armies were set in array, the first, second, and third columns being all in order by the break of day. Sultan Assambei was the first to attack, and the combat lasted till the hour of nine; at this point, a Bassà, with a large force of Turks, charged fiercely into the *mélée*, and put the Persians to rout. Assambei, perceiving the disaster, and having a reserve of eight thousand picked men at hand to carry encouragement wherever it was needed, boldly charged the centre of the hostile army, encouraging his own soldiers and carrying death everywhere before him, so that the Turks were signally defeated in that engagement. Assambei having conquered the enemy in this battle, immediately occupied in triumph Tocat, Malacia, and Sivas,¹ three large cities. The Ottoman was greatly displeased and troubled on hearing the news of the rout and destruction of the greater part of his army, but more especially by that of the loss of the three cities; but, by collecting troops throughout his dominions, he assembled an immense army and directed it against Assambei, who had established himself in safety in Malacia. The latter having also suffered

¹ Tocat, Malatia, and Sivas. See Zeno.

severe loss in the battle, sent some of the chiefs back to Persia to levy all the troops they could to reinforce his army. Besides, he awaited with impatience the cannon and bombardiers sent by our Most Illustrious Government, but neither succour came with the speed the occasion required, while the Turkish forces arrived on the frontiers well provided with artillery. Assambei was disquieted about this; but being in necessity and in hourly expectation of the Persian reinforcements and the artillery, like a noble monarch he determined to face the enemy with the troops he had with him, about twenty-four or twenty-five thousand in number, while they had thirty-six thousand men. The enemy was stationed on one side of Malacia, while Assambei was on the other, as he had retreated half a day's journey between Malacia and Tocat, a place well suited for the operations of the armies. The Turks following him up, attacked him there with great bravery, each side proving their valour. After a great slaughter on either side Assambei was defeated and forced to retreat into his own country of Persia, abandoning the three cities. He arrived at Tanris, where he caused games and rejoicings to be held, not caring much for his reverse, as he had lost none of his dominions. After a certain time war broke out with the Soldan of Cairo, and he marched with a considerable force into the country of Diarbeo. The Soldan of Cairo, with the Mamelukes and a large army of his subjects, crossed the Euphrates and took Orfa, which he pillaged at his leisure, Assambei not having yet come up. Assambei, who was already at Amit,¹ mustering his forces to attack the Mamelukes, hearing of the fall of Orfa,² quickly marched to the plain of Orfa, where he attacked the camp of the Mamelukes with such fury, that they were nearly all cut to pieces, the rest being forced to fly with the loss of all their baggage,

¹ Amida Diarbekr. See Zeno, p. 6.

² Orfa (Edessa). See Zeno, p. 98.

which afforded greet epoil to Assambei and his chiefs. He then advanced to Bir, and took it, togoether with Besin,¹ Calat, and Efron, ravaging the whole country about there. After remainiug six months at Bir, he returned in great triumph to Poreia, holding feests at Tauris in his palace of Astibieti.

CHAP. XI.—Assambei dying, is succeeded on the throne by his son Jacob, who takes for wife a licentious woman, an adulteress; she gives him poison, of which he dies as well as herself, and a little son. Whence the great lords of Persia make war among themselves for a long time, to prove who is to succeed to the throne, first one and then another.

Assambei hed four children, one a son, Sultan Jacob, who succeeded his father; and three daughters, of whom two are etill alive at Alcppo. I myself have often conversed with them in Trebizond Greek, which they had learnt from Queen Despinacaton, their mothor. Aesambei being at Tauris, and having already lived to a great age, died in the year 1478, and, as I mentioned above, was succeeded by hie son, who was a great lord, and ruled Persia for eome time. He took as wifo a high-born ledy, daughter of a Persian noble, but a most licentious women: having fallen in love with a great lord of the conrt, this wicked woman songht means to kill Jacob Sultan her husband, dosigning to marry her paramonr, and make him kiug, as, being closely related to Jacob, he would become so by right in default of children. Having arranged matters with him, she prepared an insidions poison for her husband, who having gono into a perfumed bath, as was his custom, with his young eon, aged eight or nine years, remained there from the twenty-second hour till sunset. On coming out, ho went into the harem, which was close to the bath, where ho was met by his wicked wife with a cup and a gold vaso containing the poison, which ehe

¹ Kalat en Neju.

had got ready while he was in the bath, knowing that it was his custom to have something to drink on coming out of the bath. She caressed him more than usual, to effect her wicked purpose; but not having sufficient command over her countenance, became very pale, which excited the suspicion of Jacob, who had already begun to distrust her from some of her proceedings. He then commanded her to taste it first, which, although she knew it was certain death, she could not escape, and drank some; who then handed the gold cup to her husband Jacob, who, with his son, drank the rest. The poison was so powerful that by midnight they were all dead. The next morning the news was circulated of the sudden death of Jacob Sultan, his son and wife. The great lords hearing of their king's decease, had quarrelled among themselves, so that for five or six years all Persia was in a state of civil war, first one and then another of the nobles becoming sultan. At last, a youth named Alumut,¹ aged fourteen years, was raised to the throne, which he held till the succession of Sheikh Ismael Sultan.

CHAP. XII.—Secaider, chief of the Suffavans, engages in battle with the general of the forces of Alumut, is defeated, taken prisoner, and his head being cut off, is taken to the king at Tauris, who causes it to be thrown to the dogs.

During the reign of Alumut, in a city four days' east from Tauris, lived a lord about the rank of a count, named Secaider,² of a religion or sect named Sophi, revered by his co-religionists as a saint, and obeyed as a chief. There are numbers of them in different parts of Persia, as in Anatolia and Caramania, all of whom bear great respect to this Secaider, who was a native of this city of Ardouil,³

¹ A son of Yacoob Sultan; his brother, Morad Khau, disputed the throne with him, and seized Fars and Babylonia.

² Sheikh Hyder. See Zeno, p. 42.

³ Ardebil.

where he had converted many to the Suffavean doctrine. Indeed, he was like the abbot of a nation of monks; he had six children, three boys and three girls, by a daughter of Assambei;¹ he also bore an intense hatred to the Christians. He frequently made incursions with his followers into Circassia, ravaging the country, and so brought away many slaves and much booty with him on his return, with great rejoicings, to Ardouil. Alumut Sultan having succeeded to the throne, Secaidar, wishing to return to his wonted expeditions into Circassia against the Christians, assembled his troops, and set out towards Sumacchia,² which he reached in eight days; from thence he took the road to Derhant,³ where is the pass by which one enters Circassia, and was five days *en route*. Sultan Alumut and his lords hearing that Secaidar, with an army of four or five thousand Suffaveans, was marching into Circassia, joined by numbers of volunteers in hopes of plunder, quickly sent messengers to the king of the country, who was himself afraid of the number of troops Secaidar had with him, to tell him to use every means in his power to stop him. Secaidar and his Suffaveans had the previous year, with half the number of men, done great damage near that fortress, and so they feared he might do the same; therefore they wished to bar his passage, lest he should go on increasing his power, as he did every day on his march into Circassia, by being joined by such multitudes of volunteers for the sake of booty, by which means he would soon have become a great lord. Secaidar therefore, on his arrival at Derhant, found the pass closed by the order of Alumut Sultan. Derbant is a large city, and, according to their chronicles and traditions, was built by Alexander the Great; it is one mile wide and three in length, having on one side the Caspian Sea, and on the other a high mountain; no one can pass except through the gates of the city, as on the east is the sea, and on the west

¹ Martha.

² Schamachi.

³ Derbend.

a mountain, so steep that not even a cat could climb it. Derhant, the name of this city, in Persian signifies "closed gate";¹ and any one wishing to go into Circassia, must pass through the city which borders on that country, and the greater part of whose inhabitants speak Circassian, or rather Turkish. Secaidar finding his passage barred as I have said, was very indignant, and began to attack the fortress and pass; there being few soldiers in the place, and insufficient numbers to resist the Suffaveans, news of their necessity was sent in great haste to the king of the country, who reported it to Alumut in Tauris. The latter ordered his lords to levy troops, and when they had assembled about ten thousand men, set out against Secaidar, who was besieging the fortress of Derhant, where they arrived in a few days. Secaidar perceiving the troops of Alumut, retired to a hill on one side, where he exhorted his soldiers to fight bravely, saying that he felt confident of victory, and promising them great things. This was in the evening, and every one swore to fight valiantly. The following morning, the Suffaveans were all admirably posted for the battle, while opposite them the general of Alumut had marshalled his troops. Secaidar seeing that an engagement was inevitable, was the first to attack the enemy, his Suffaveans fighting like lions, and cutting to pieces a third of Alumut's troops; but he was at length defeated, and his men massacred. He himself was taken prisoner; and his head being cut off, was presented to Alumut Sultan, who commanded it to be carried on a lance all through Tauris, with martial instruments sounding in honour of the victory, and afterwards taken to a maidan, where executions took place, and there thrown to be eaten by dogs. For this reason, the Suffaveans hate dogs, and kill all they come across.

¹ Demir Kapoo, or "iron gate", it is sometimes called.

CHAP. XIII.—Three sons of Secaïdar, hearing of their father's death, escape in different directions; one of them, named Ismael, flies to an island inhabited by Armenian Christians, where he was instructed in the Holy Scriptures by an Armenian priest. Hence he goes to Chilan, and, determining to avenge his father's death, manages to take the castle of Maumutaga, which he sacks, and bestows all the booty on his followers. For this reason, many flocked to his banner, being voluntarily converted to Suffaveism.

Immediately on the news reaching Ardouil, where Secaïdar's wife and six children were, the three sons fled, one going to Natolia, another to Aleppo, and the third to an island which, as I have mentioned before, is in the lake of Van or Vastan,¹ and contains a town of Armenian Christians. Here this son, named Ismael, who was a noble youth about thirteen or fourteen years old, remained four years in the house of a Papà or priest, who was slightly acquainted with astrology, by which he learnt that Ismael would one day become a great lord. For this reason he was particularly kind and attentive to him, also instructed him in our holy faith and in the Scriptnres, showing him also the vanity and emptiness of the Mahometan religion. After four years Ismael determined to leave Arminy,² and went to Chilan,³ where he lived a year with a goldsmith,⁴ a great friend of his father's, who kept him in secret with great care and respect. During this period the youth frequently wrote secret letters to some of the chief personages in Ardouil, who had been friends of his father's, to arrange matters with them; in the spring of the year he determined to avenge his father's defeat, and collected, with the goldsmith, ten or twenty Safavians to make a sudden attack upon the castle of Maumutaga, having arranged that two hundred of his friends in Ardouil should come armed to the castle and conceal themselves near it in a glen filled with canes. Everything being

¹ The island of Ak Tamar, the seat of the Armenian Catholicos.

² Arminig.

³ Ghilan.

⁴ Pyrcall.

settled, Ismael set out from Chilan with his troop, and on arriving at Manmutaga¹ attacked the gate of the castle with great fury, killing the guards; as there were but few defenders in the castle they were all cut to pieces with the exception of the women and children. Ismael then mounted a tower, and having signalled to his two hundred allies, who joined him in great haste, together with them sallied out into the town below the castle, killing the inhabitants, and carrying with them great booty back into the castle where they had left the goldsmith and ten companions as a garrison. This fortress of Manmutaga is very rich, from being a port on the Caspian sea. All the ships coming from Strevi, Sara,² and Masanderan, loaded with merchandise for Tauris and Sumacchia, disembarcated at this place. Ismael found immense treasures in the town, which he divided among his men, keeping nothing for himself; thus the fame went abroad that Ismael, the son of Secaidar, had taken this fine fortress and had bestowed all he found there on his companions. Thus he was joined by numbers, even those who were not Suffaveans flocking to his standard, in hopes of receiving gifts of this nature from the valiant Ismael; in this way arrived at Maumutaga in the course of a few days more than four thousand Suffaveans. Alumut on hearing this news was much amazed, and wished to send a force against Maumutaga, but was dissuaded as the fortress was considered impregnable against assault, while with the sea open to it it could not be reduced by a regular siego or famine. Alumut then was compelled to send an army to keep Iamael in check, hoping to destroy him by some act of rashness, not knowing what was decreed by fate.

¹ See Zeno, pp. 48, 49.

² Astrabad, Sari.

CHAP. XIV.—Ismael marches against the King Sermangoli, takes and pillages his city of Sumaechia, giving everything to the soldiery; Alumut being alarmed, assembles his forces; whereupon, Ismael having sought and obtained the aid of the Iberians, surprises the camp of Alumut; the latter flies to Tauris, and thence to Amit; Ismael, following up his victory, takes Tauris, and, after many other acts of cruelty, causes the head of his own mother to be cut off.

Ismael was reinforced from day to day, making rich presents to all who joined him; when he found himself sufficiently powerful he resolved to take Sumaechia, and assembled his troops for that purpose. Sermangoli on the attack of the Sufiaveans abandoned the city and retired to an almost impregnable castle, named Culistan,¹ situated on a high mountain and cut out of the solid rock, where he considered himself secure. Ismael soon performed the two days' march from Maumutaga to Sumacchia,² where he slaughtered many of the wretched inhabitants. This city is large and rich, a port, and the headquarters of a great trade, wherefore Ismael and his army enriched themselves with its spoils. The fame of the victories and generosity of Ismael spread throughout Persia and Natolia, so that every one became a Sufiavean in hopes of advancement. Alumut holding with no slight apprehension the rapid advances of Ismael and the increase of his partizans, hastily summoned his lords and commanded them to levy troops. Ismael also being alarmed on hearing this, sent messengers to Iheria, which is three, or rather four days' journey from Sumaechia. This Iheria is a large province inhabited by Christians, and governed by seven great chiefs, two or three of whom are on the frontiers of Persia or Tauris, and whose names are Alexander Beo, Gorgurambee, and Mirzamhee. Ismael sent to them for assistance, promising wealth to all who joined him, and agreeing, in case he took Tauris, to free

¹ See Zeno, pp. 50, 56.

² Schamachi. See Zeno, p. 56.

them from the tribute they paid to the King of Persia. Each of these Christian chiefs sent three thousand horse, being nine thousand in all. These Iberians are famous horsemen, and valiant in war; on their arrival at Sumacchia, Ismael bestowed rich presents on them, all from the plunder of the town. Alumut Sultan, who was a younger man than Ismael (Ismael¹ being nineteen years old, as I have been informed by many people, and Alumut only sixteen), hearing of Ismael's proceedings through his spies, set out from Tauris against him, while the latter also advanced with all his troops, fifteen or sixteen thousand in number. The rivals met in this way between Taaris and Sumacchia, near a river, over which there were two stone bridges half a mile apart. Alumut, with an army of thirty thousand men, having arrived first, caused the bridges to be broken so as to obstruct the passage, and then encamped thereto. On the following day, Ismael arrived on the opposite bank; but having by good fortune discovered a ford, he crossed with his whole army on the following night, and took the army of Alumut by surprise as they were sleeping in their tents overcome with wine and food, so that they were unable to defend themselves. Then began a great slaughter of these poor wretches, so much so that at the hour of three they were all cut to pieces, except Alumut, who escaped with a few companions to Tauris, where he kept his treasures and his harem, and thence to Amit. Ismael took an immense booty in tents, horses, arms, etc., while all his soldiers enriched themselves with spoil. He remained in that place four days to refresh his troops, who were wearied with the fighting, and then advanced on the city of Tauris, where they met with no resistance, but massacred many of the inhabitants. All the kinsman of Jacob Sultan were put to the edge of the sword, and even pregnant women were slaughtered with their unborn offspring. The tomb of

¹ See Zeno, p. 46.

Jacob Sultan, and those of many lords who had been present at the battle of Derbant where Ismael's father was killed, were opened, and their bones burnt. Three hundred public courtesans were then arranged in line, and their bodies divided in two. Then eight hundred avaricious Blasi who had been brought up under Alumut were beheaded. They even slaughtered all the dogs in Tauris, and committed many other atrocities. After this, Ismael sent for his own mother,¹ who was in some way related to Jacob Sultan (in what manner I have not been able to discover), and finding that she had married one of the lords who had been present at the battle of Derbant, after reviling her, caused her head to be cut off before him. From the time of Nero to the present, I doubt whether so bloodthirsty a tyrant has ever existed.

CHAP. XV.—Many cities and chiefs give in their submission to Ismael, with the exception of a fortress of Christians, which held out for five years; but, hearing of the death of Alumut, they surrendered. In the villages near this fortress are found books written with Latin characters, in the Italian tongue.

At this time many districts, cities, and castles gave in their submission to Ismael. Many nobles also sought his presence, and paid him homage, putting on the red caftan, kissing his hands, and taking oaths of allegiance. There was one exception of the governor of a fortress named Alangiachana,² two days' distant from Tauris. This castle has twelve neighbouring villages inhabited by orthodox Christians, whose patriarch sends two men every year to the Pope with an offering of incense. They perform their worship in Armenian, having lost the use of the Italian

¹ Stepmother, according to others.

² Perhaps Alanja, near Maragha, on a small stream falling into Lake Urumia; but Zeno says it was to the north of Tauris.

language. In these villages there are many manuscripts and books in Italian; while I was in Tauris two were brought to me, one relating to astronomy and the other to the rules of grammar. They also produce a great quantity of rich crimson dye. As I have mentioned, this was one of the last castles belonging to the Christians, who have for some time forgotten their original language, the Italian. This governor, after Ismael had taken Tauris, still held out for four or five years, being a devoted adherent of Almut Sultan, while Assambei Sultan and Jacob Sultan had also deposited immense treasures in the fortress for security. The news of Almut's death at length reaching him, he no longer wished to hold out, and surrendered the castle and treasures to Ismael. Ismael having obtained the regal power was nominated Sultan by the whole nation, who admired his wonderful victories; and he reigned, honoured, loved, and respected by all.¹

CHAP. XVI.—Muratcan, the son of Jacob Sultan, marches against Ismael to fight for the throne; but, his army being defeated and cut to pieces, he flies to Bagadet.

While Ismael Sultan was in Tauris, Muratcan² Sultan of Bagadet, with an army of 30,000 men, moved against him to seize the throne which was his by right. Ismael upon hearing this was moved with great indignation, and assembling his vassals and troops issued from Tauris to a wide plain, where he heard that Muratcan was hastily advancing, thinking to obtain great booty. This Muratcan was the son of Jacob Sultan. Then Ismael exhorted all his vassals and soldiers to bear themselves manfully, and also desired the Iberian Chieftains to encourage their men to deeds like those

¹ This is rather a contrast to his previous assertion, that he was one of the most bloodthirsty tyrants that ever existed. See p. 191.

² Murad Khan, brother of Almut.

when they routed the army of Alamud; everyone promised this and waited with great impatience for the contest. Muratcan having advanced with his army to a spot not far distant from the camp of Ismael, in the plain of Tauris, halted on the banks of a rivulet to refresh his men; Ismael marched to the other bank, and took up his station there. In this position both armies challenged each other to the fight and reviled each other. At noon, Muratcan exhorted his followers to fight bravely against their Saffavids (Ismael doing the same on the other side), and then divided his army into three columns. Ismael Sultan, seeing the proceedings of the enemy, made two divisions of his army, one of Iberians 9,000 strong and the other of Saffavids, separated from each other, and appointed captains as customary in battle, and the whole of the day and the following night both armies remained under arms. On the appearance of dawn they began to sound the numerous instruments the Persians use in battle, exhorting each other to fight valiantly. When day was fully broken, Muratcan was the first to throw himself with 10,000 men upon the Saffavid host, causing great slaughter, but in loss than an hour all his soldiers were cut to pieces, so that he was forced to bring up his other two columns together into the contest, Ismael being compelled to do the same. Such a slaughter took place and more blood was shed than ever happened in one battle in Persia since the days of Darins,¹ the battle lasting from morning till noon, ending with the total rout of Muratcan, who fled with a few adherents to Babylon or rather Bagdad to his utter disgrace. On the opposite hand Ismael returned with great reputation, having made an immense booty of tents, pavilions, and horses, with but slight loss on his side; so he entered Tauris with a grand triumph, and spent some time in the great palace of Astibisti in sports

¹ This by no means equals the slaughter caused by Timour at Isfahan.

and rejoicings. But the Babylonians, with the exception of 50 or 70 who fled with Mnratcan, were cut to picces, about 30,000 in nomber, and mountains of their bones were piled up on the site of the battle. At this time Ismael was only nineteen, so that in this one year, the year 1499, all these exploits and actions took place.¹ And during my stay in Tauris, men were continnally flocking to his standard, from all parts of the country, but especially from Natolia, Turkey, and Caramania, Ismael presenting gifts to them all according to their rank and condition.

CHAP. XVII.—Sultan Calil, Lord of Asanchif, and Ustagialu Maumutbec, a chieftain of Natolia, give in their submision to Ismael, who gives to each of them one of his three sisters in marriage. Later on Ustagialu makes war on Sultan Calil, in accordance with the commands of Ismael, who, with an immense army, marched in person against Aliduli, ravaging his country and killing some of his sons, with an immense number of his people.

The province of Diarbœc had always been subject to Persia, and therfore, Sultan Sciech Ismael having gained the throno wished to bring the whole country under his sway. Thus Sultao Calil,² the lord of Asanchif,³ camo in person to Ismael, put on the red caftan, and premised to be an obedient vassal, for which Ismael made him mnnificent presents, confirmed him in his realm, and gave him one of his sisters in marriage, so that he returned with great rejoicings to Asanchif. Another Natolian chieftain, named Ustagialu Maumutbec, who had come to the aid of Ismael with seven brothers, all valiant men, was granted for his services the fino province of Diarbœc with the excepion of Asanchif. Then Ustagialu made a conquest of this province,

¹ See Zeno, pp. 53, 54.

² Sultan Khalil, the Eiohhite.

³ Hesn Keyf. See p. 108.

excepting the cities of Amit and Asanchif; and because Sultan Calil (as was said) had transgressed the orders of Ismael, the latter resolved that the whole province should be under the orders of Ustagialu, and sent commands to Calil to surrender the city and fortresses to Ustagialu. In like manner he ordered the latter to take possession of the city notwithstanding his relationship to Calil; for on setting out to conquer the province he had been given the second sister of Ismael as his wife, so that these two Chieftains were connected. But Sultan Calil was a Curd, and this people, though subject to the Suffaveans, are ill-disposed towards them, so Calil refused to give up anything to Ustagialu. Ustagialu then being moved with indignation, marched against him with 10,000 horsemen and waged continual war against him until the year 1510, which was that of my arrival from Azemia,¹ without being able to subdue him. The Alidulians were in the habit of making frequent incursions into this province of Diarboc and laying waste the country round Orfa, Somilon,² and Dedu. Orfa is a large city, the other two are fortresses; they also had in their possession a city named Cartibert,³ governed by a son of Aliduli,⁴ which Ustagialu had never been able to take. This city with its independent castle was in the realm of Persia, but the Alidulians had seized it during the reign of Sultan Jacob, and during the government of Ustagialu caused great damage throughout the country. On this account Ismael determined to march in person to destroy the Alidulians, and having recruited his army advanced to Arsingan, a fortress on the confines of Trebizoud, Natolia, and Persia. Here he collected an immense force and took the place, which was held by one of the sons of the Grand Turk who had subdued Trebizond at the time of Sultan Jacob's death; and rested forty days in the place, where he

¹ Ajem.² Jemeleyn.³ Kharput.⁴ Alla-ed Douleh, named Becarbec.

assembled a force of 60,000 fighting men, more than were sufficient to subdue the Alidnians, but because he distrusted the Ottoman and the Soldan of Cairo, between the borders of whose respective dominions the country of Aliduli was situated. During Ismael's stay in Arsingan he sent two ambassadors,¹ one named Culibec to the Ottoman in Natolia, and the other named Zachariabec to the Soldan of Cairo, swearing solemn oaths to these monarchs, that he intended no harm to their dominions, but was only marching against his enemy Aliduli. After a halt of forty days, Ismael set out from Arsingan against the enemy, with his 60,000 men. It is only a four days' march from Arsingan to the country of Alidali; but Ismael took another route, passing by the Turkish city of Cesaria² in order to obtain supplies which he intended to pay for honestly. On his arrival, he caused proclamation to be made that everyone who brought provisions for sale should be liberally paid, and forbade his men under pain of death to take even as much as a handful of straw without paying for it, as it was a friendly city; having remained there four days, Ismael continued his march to the beautiful district of Bastan, where there is a fine river and numerous villages, just one day's journey from Alidali's capital, a city named Marras.³ Ismael having first ravaged Bastan,⁴ moved upon Marras, from whence Aliduli had fled with numerous followers to the high mountain named Caradag,⁵ to which there was access by only one narrow pass. Ismael devastated the country, killing numbers of people, among them some of the sons of Aliduli who from time to time used to descend from the mountain to fall upon the Sufaveans, but were easily cut to pieces by them, as their descent was betrayed by the numerous scouts

* ¹ See Angiolotto, p. 108.

² Kaisarieh.

³ Marash. See Zeno, p. 54.

⁴ El Bostan or Albistan. See Zeno, p. 54.

⁵ Kara Dagh, Black Mountain.

kept by Ismael, and also by some secret Suffaveans among the Alidulians themselvos. It was the 29th July, 1507, when Ismael entered the country of Aliduli, where he remained till the middle of November, when he was forced to leave from want of provisions in the country, and from the snow and cold which prevented a winter campaign.

CHAP. XVIII.—Amirbec makes a prisoner of Sultan Alumut, who had admitted him with his soldiers into Amit, and leads him in chains before Ismael, who cuts off his head with his own hands. He then takes the city of Cartibirt, with the son of Aliduli, whom he puts to death; after the winter he returns to Tauris.

During my stay in Malacia,¹ a city belonging to the Soldan of Cairo, on my return journy from Cimiscasac² and Arsingan to Aleppo, I met Amirhec the governor of Mosnlminiato, a great adherent of Ismael's, who wore two gold chains, covered with rubies and diamonds, round his neck, to which was attachod the seal of Ismael, a mark of his greatest confidence. When the latter reqnired to seal anything it was Amirhec's duty to do so with his own hands. To do a favonr to Sultan Ismael, he had put a nnumber of lords to death, and while I was in Malacia, I fonnd that he had captured, in the following manner, the young Sultan Alumnt, who had heen defeated by Soiech Ismael; he set out from Mosnl with 400³ men to Amit whcre Sultan Alumut lived, pretending to he coming to his aid as he was douhtfnl about Ismael's return, whrefore Alumut received him courteously as nsual, for Amirbechad been one of his chiofs. Thus confiding in him, and haviug allowed him to enter the city with his 400 men, Amirhec suddenly placed his hand on tho shoulder of the unfortunate young man, saying—You are the prisoner of Ismael Sultan. Leaving a governor in the city,

¹ Malatia.

² Tchimish Gazak.

³ Next page says 4000.

he put him in chains and took him with him to meet Ismael at Malacia (where I then was), being the nearest place on the road to the country of Alidali where Ismael was engaged in war. He remained there a day and a half with the 4,000 Suffaveans he had with him. and I myself saw the young Alamnt bound in chains in a tent. Amirbec leaving took him as a grateful gift to Ismael, who had him brought into his presence and cut off his head with his own hands ; so then hurried back to his own country for fear of the snow, passing through Malacia, where he only rested one day to supply his troops with provisions ; he then crossed the Euphrates, which is only ten miles distant from Malacia, and encamped before Cartibert ; which was governed by a son of Aliduli named Becarbec, and well furnished with troops and provisions ; but all was of no avail, as Ismael took the place, cut off the young man's head with his own hands and then proceeded in great haste on his way to Tauris. On the six days' march to that city, the snow and cold caused great loss in men, horses, and camels, and they had to abandon part of the booty they had made in the country of Aliduli. But nevertheless Ismael rode on to a beautiful palace he had built at Coi, where he remained until the Naurus,² that is the new year, when he determined to march against Muratcan Sultan of Bagadet. Returning to Taaris he found that his two brothers whom he had left in charge of the city had not thoroughly observed his commands, so he was very nearly putting them to death ; but in accordance with the treaties of many of his lords the young men escaped, but were banished to their native province of Ardouil which they were not allowed to leave, being granted a train of only 200 horsemen each.

¹ Kharput.

² Nevruz, New Year's day, at the vernal equinox.

CHAP. XIX.—Ismael sets out with his army against Muratcan, many of whose lords and soldiers desert to Ismael; Muratcan, offering to become his vassal, sends an ambassador to him, whom Ismael causes to be cut to pieces with all his train; Muratcan then flies, and finding shelter nowhere, goes to Aliduli, who gives him one of his daughters in marriage.

At the new year Ismael collected thirty or forty thousand fighting men, with whom he set out on his march to his city of Casan;¹ remaining there a few days he proceeded to Spain,² a large and populous city belonging to Moratcan, who foreseeing the storm had on his side assembled an army of 36,000 fighting men. He came to Siras,³ a larger and more beautiful city than Cairo in Egypt, so that both were prepared, Moratcan in Siras and Ismael in Spain. Ismael had a large army all of Suffaveans and brave men; on the contrary, Moratcan's army came to the field compulsorily and with reluctance; hearing of Ismael's force they knew it would be impossible to resist him in the fight, as with a fewer number of men he had routed and cut to pieces the host of Muratcan 30,000 strong in the plains of Tauris, in the former battle. On this account, many of the chiefs and soldiers doubtful as to the issue fled to Ismael's camp. Moratcan perceiving the desertion sent two ambassadors with a train of five hundred to Ismael, followed by spies to learn the result of the embassy, which was to declare himself Ismael's vassal and that he was willing to pay him tribute. Ismael caused the ambassadors and their suite to be cut in pieces, saying "if Moratcan were willing to become my subject, he would have come in person and not have sent an embassy." The spies seeing the result, reported the news at once to Moratcan, who took to flight with all his belongings, as the rumour had spread throughout his camp, many

¹ Kashan.

² Ispahan, which rose to its greatest prosperity under Shah Abbas.

³ Shiraz.

of his chiefs donning the red caftan. Moratcan fearing to be made captive in the same manner as Alumnt, chose a guard, three thousand in number, of the adherents he thought most faithful, and with them he fled towards Aleppo from the fury of Ismael, who hearing of his flight dispatched six thousand Suffaveans in pursuit. After crossing a river by a stone bridge he caused it to be broken down, so on the speedy arrival of the Suffaveans on the opposite bank all further action was useless ; Moratcan pursuing his route came to a castle, governed by one of his slaves, who seeing his master in flight, or having some understanding with Ismael, refused to admit him, for which, enraged by the loss of his treasure in the castle, Moratcan caused the inhabitants of a small town beneath the castle to be slaughtered. Advancing towards Aleppo, in a few days he arrived within thirty miles of the city, and waited till he sent to Cairbec, the governor,¹ to ask for a safe conduct, which was courteously granted, and a grand reception accorded him. He further sent some of his lords to Cuiro to demand a safe conduct from the Soldan, who for some reason or other would not grant it, but sent information as to where he would find Aliduli. On joining the latter, he was heartily welcomed, Aliduli condoling with him for his losses from the Suffaveans, and Moratcan doing likewise on his side. Aliduli also, notwithstanding his condition, gave him one of his daughters in marriage.

CHAP. XX.—Ismael takes Bagadet and then returns to Spani to oppose the Tartars ; after one year he re-enters Tanris, where great rejoicings were held with archery sports for fifteen days. A description of his qualities is given.

Ismael having seen the total destruction of his enemy proceeded to Siras and then to Bugadot, making great

¹ Caierhee, notorious for his treachery against Khafoor el Ghouri, the Soldan of Egypt, in his war with Selim I. See Angiolello, p. 122.

elanghter among the wretched inhabitants. Ahont this time tho great Tartar Iesilhas¹ had invaded Pereia with a vast army, had over-run Corasan,² and taken the city of Eri,³ a populons and commercial place, also Stravi,⁴ Amixandaran,⁵ and Sari, towns on the shores of the Caspian towards the East, and bordering on the new conqests of Ismael, who heing alarmed at the news retrnrned with his army to Spaan. The Tartar endeavouring to ontwit Ismael, askcd leave to pass through his territories on his way to Mecca, as he pretended he wished to make a pilgrimage to his prophet Mahomet, hnt Ismael perceiving the snare not only refused a passage, but sent insulting messages in reply and remained one year in Spaan to meet the Tartars. The great Tamcr-lane once took this very country with the whole of Persia and Soria, and there still remain memorials of him in Soria. At the ond of a year Ismael returned to Tanris, where on his arrival great rejoicings took place; I happendc to be there myself, having gone to recover dehts from the traitor Chamainit of Casvone. For a fortnight Ismael continned to join in archery every day with his lords in a maidan, in the midst of which was a pole, on which was placed a golden apple (twenty apples, ten of gold and ten of silver, being provided for tho days' sport), at which, they shot from their bows while running, and whoever hit it took it for his own. Every time one was hit they rested for a time, drinking delicate wines and eating sweetmeats; dnring the sports two beantiful youths stood beside the monarch, one holding a gold vase, and the other two plates of sweetmeats; the lords having thoir wine and sweetmeats separately. When

¹ Sheibani Khan. See Zeno, p. 56.

² Khorassan.

³ Herat. See Zeno, p. 56.

⁴ Astrabad, a city of about fifty thousand inhabitants, is situated near the mouth of the river Ester, on a bay of the Caspian. It is the capital of a small province of the same name often included in Maganderan; it is also a treasure city of the reigning family, being the centre of their hereditary possessions.

⁵ Probably one of the ports of Mazanderan; perhaps Balfrush. Zeno.

Ismael rests, the yonths approach with tho wine and sweet-meats; he does so sometimes, even when no apple has been hit. He always has a guard of a thoosand soldiers to attend him at these sports; besides there is a crowd of about thirty thousand people, composed of citizens and soldiers, round the maidan. At the entrance of the garden nearest tho palace there is a largo saloon, where a supper is prepared for the lords who have joined in the sports, while Ismael retires to his repast in the palace Astihisti. Then all the lords sing in praise of their master Ismael, extolling his graciousness towards them. At present he is about thirty-one, very handsome, of a magnanimous countenance, and about middle height; he is fair, stont, and with broad shoulders, his heard is shaved and he only wears a monstache, not appearing to be a very hairy man. He is as amiable as a girl, left-handed by nature, is as lively as a fawn, and stronger than any of his lords. In the archery trials at tho apple, he is so expert, that of evory ten knocked down he hits six; during the sports, mnsio is played and dancing girls perform after their manncr, singing tho praisos of Ismael; after a stay of a fortnight at Tauris he went with his army to Coi where he abode for two months.

CHAP. XXL—Sermangoli breaks the treaty with Ismael, sets out to ravage the country a second time, sending two captains on this expedition, while he himself, leaving Canar, marches towards the Caspian, taking many places, and among them the great and famous fortress of Derbant.

Daring his stay at Coi, Sormangoli the king of Servan,¹ a tributary of Ismael's, broke the treaty hetween them. Then Ismael, filled with anger, assembled his troops and marchod against the country for the second time, having on the former occasion taken the country from this Sormangoli who was

¹ Shirvan.

the ruler, but having restored it to him on his promising to ho a faithful subiect ; for his doceit he now set ont to take it away from him. He first marched to Carabacdac,¹ a district more than a thousand miles in extent, in which is a large fortress named Canar, subject to which are many villages famous for the culturo of silk, which from this place is named Canarose ; here ho remained some days as it was a fertile district. Here he appointed two captains, one named Lamhec, and the other Bairambcc the conqueror of Van, as I have before related, and a brother-in-law of Ismael's as he had married one of the latter's three sisters, Custagialntbec another, and Sultan Calil of Asanchif tho third. Theso two captains heing appointed, they were despatched against Sumacchia, which town they found qnite desrcrted on their arrival, as the inhabitants had fled to a largo and impregnable fortress named Culustan, sitnated on the summit of a monntain. It was held hy a hrave officer, devoted adherent of the king of Servsn, who had given orders to him on the approach of Ismael to retiro to it from the city, which is only half a milo distant. Lembec and Bairamhec seeing that every one had retired to the castle, sst down with ten thonsand men to besiege it, but could make no impression npon it as it was inaccessible on every side, and they had no artillery or engines. While they were engaged in the siege, Ismael left Canar and came to Maumutaga, which was immediatoly surrendered to him as tho inhabitants had on a previons occasion experionced his cruelty ; all the wealth found in the place was given to the soldiers. Ho further set out on his march along the shore of the Caspian, to subdue the other fortresses of the province of Sorvan, which extends from Maumutaga to Derhant, a seven days' journey. There are three largo cities and three fortresses along this shore : the first is Sumacchia, which is a day's journey from tho sea, hut the others, Maumutaga and Derhant, are close to

¹ Kara Bagh Dagh, or Mountain of Kara Bagh.

it. The first castle he came to was called Baccara,¹ which was immediately given up to him ; a day's journey further was a fine castle named Sirec on the summit of a monntain, which detained him three days while treating for terms, which Ismael granted, reinstating the former governor, bnt sending sixty Suffavcaus to hold it, who hy their arrogant conduct towards the inhabitants were all massacred hy the latter, who then fled to the mountaius by night, from fear of Ismael, who fidning no one on whom to wreak his vengeance, censed the place to he demolished. Advancing u little further they came to a custle and a large uwalled town named Sabran, which was deserted, as the king of the country censed it to he wasted that Ismael might not procure supplies ; however, fresh provisions reched the latter every day from Carabacdac. After four days' march, Ismael arrived at Derhant² where he fonud the iuhabitants fiod, either to the monntains or to Circassia, while only the citadel held out, which was very strong as I have already described, and defended on every side hy men with lances aud hauners. This castle has only two gates, well huilt with stoue und mortar. Ismael, who had arrivod iu ubont fifteen or twenty days, remained eleven days with his wholo army forty thousand strong before the castle ; thoy made two mines, neither of which succeeded. At last they made a large mine under a tower, digging out all the fouadations, und supporting it with beams of wood ; then filling the hollow with dry wood they set fire to it hoping that when the heams were hurnt tho tower wold fall. Tho dry wood soon burnt and flames soon poured out of the hollow, hut had little effect as they wero choked in tho cavern. But tho governor fearing greater damage and the loss of the place, sent u mcssnger ut midnight to Ismael, offering to yield the castle if lives and property were spared. Ismael

¹ Baku, after which the Caspian is sometimes named.

² Derbend. See Zeno.

having seen the ill success of the fire gave the promise as required to the messenger, and on the following morning the gates were opened and the castle surrendered. They found in it great quantities of arms, stores, and provisions, which were brought before Ismael, who remained eight or nine days to refresh his troops, during which stay many chiefs gave in their submission, and put on the red caftan.

CHAP. XXII.—Ismael returns to Tauris; great sports and feasts are prepared for his arrival; of the affection his soldiers bear him, and how he is adored almost as a God; of their cloths and armour; of the disgraceful act committed by him, and how he sets out for the second time with his army against the Tartar.

During these latter events I was at Tauris, endeavouring to hasten the recovery of my debts, for which I had to summon Camaidit of Casvene, hnt could not get satisfaction from him, as he had gained the favour of a friend of his, an usher of the court. I was then advised to have recourse to Ismael, so having drawn up a memorial I set off on horseback to find him, which I did in the midst of his army beneath the ruined citadel of Zirec. Finding some lords whom I had known in Tauris, I acquainted them with my wants, asking them to procure me an audience of Ismael, but they advised me to wait till he had subdued Derbant, when in his joy for his victory he would be inclined to grant anything I might ask, which counsel I took and remained the whole time in the camp. When the fortress was taken and the conquest completed, I sought out those lords, and giving them the memorial with the papers proving the debt, the matter was shown to Ismael, who despatched me immediately to Tauris with orders to all the officers that right should be done me. The decree was written in Ismael's name in large letters, and sealed with his seal with a sign resembling a Z, by the hands of Mirbec, the ruler of

Mosul, who wears the seal of Ismael on a chain round his neck ; it is made out of a diamond set in a beautifully worked ring of gold ; it is about half the size of a nut, and is engraved in minute letters with the name of Ismael surrounding the twelve sacraments of their sect.¹ On my arrival in Tauris I found I could do nothing as my adversary had fled, so I determined to proceed to Aleppo, but before I left, Ismael returned with his army, for whose coming there were great preparations made, and all the shops decorated for the festival and triumphs. He came every day to the maidan to divert himself with archery with his lords who received many gifts from him. And there was dancing, music and songs in honour of the great Sultan Ismael when he was present in the maidan. This Sophy is loved and reverenced by his people as a god, and especially by his soldiers, many of whom enter into battle without armour, expecting their master Ismael to watch over them in the fight. There are also others to go into battle without armour, being willing to die for their monarch, rushing on with naked breasts, crying "Schiac, Schiac." The name of God is forgotten throughout Persia and only that of Ismael remembered ; if any one fall when riding or dismounted he appeals to no other god but Schiac, using the name in two ways ; first as god Schiac ; secondly as prophet ; as the Mussulmans say "Laylla, laylla Mahamet resuralla," the Persians say "Laylla yllala Ismael velli-allah,"² besides this, everyone, and particularly his soldiers, consider him immortal, but I have heard that Ismael is not pleased with being called a god or a prophet. They are accustomed to wear a red caftan and above that a high conical turban made with a dozen folds, representing the twelve sacraments of their sect, or the twelve descendants of Ali ; besides this, they neither shave either their beard or

¹ Probably the names of the twelve Imams.

² La Illaha illa Allah. Ismael Wely Allah.

whiskers. Their dress has never changed ; their armour is of beautifully worked and carved steel cuirasses, besides coats of mail, helmets like those of the Mamelukes ; their harness is very strong, bound with cotton ; sometimes it is of the fine steel of Sirs, and sometimes of copper, but not like ours, but all in pieces like that of Soria : they have other helmets or headpieces of heavy mail. Everyone ridee, and so there are no foot soldiers ; they use lances, swords, and slings, besides bows with many shafts.

On his second arrival in Tauris, Ismaol committed a most disgraceful act, as he caused twelve of the most beautiful youths in the town to be taken to his palace of Astibisti for him to work his wicked will upon them, and gave them away one by one to his lords for the same purpose ; a short time previously he had caused ten children of respectable men to be seized in like manner. When he returned from Sumacchia three Georgian ambassadors arrived and were well received, and a damsel given them as a present. While engaged in these rejoicings, news came that the Usbecs, that is the subjects of the Tartar, had over-run the country of Gesti,¹ whereupon he had to decide to march against him at once, so he took the field and mustered his troops, ordering all his lords to assemble their retainers which they had to maintain during the campaign. In this way forces came together from all sides in numbers sufficient to meet Jeselhas,² a great many being necessary as the Tartar was a mighty monarch. I left Tauris on the 1st of May, 1520,³ during the levying of this army, taking the route to Aleppo, and in spite of some dangerous fellow travellers, and by the favour of God arrived at Albir⁴ on the 2nd July, 1520.⁵

¹ Yezd.

² Sheibani Khan.

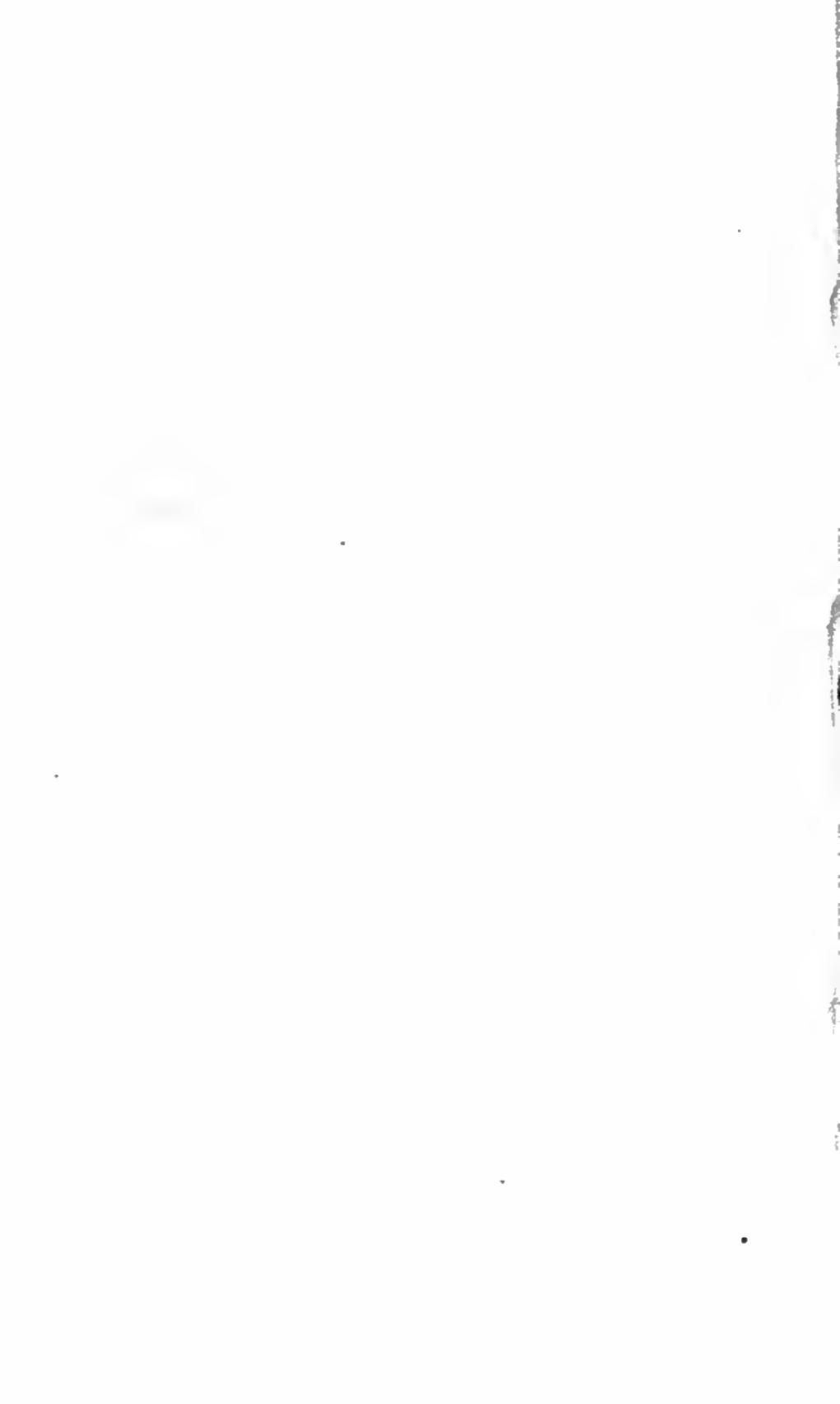
³ The battle of Merv took place in 1514.

⁴ Bir or Birajik.

⁵ He does not mention the Turkish invasion of Persia, under Selim I, in 1514, which must have come under his notice, if, as he says, he remained in Tauris till 1520.



NARRATIVE
OF THE
MOST NOBLE VINCENTIO D'ALESSANDRI,
Ambassador to the King of Persia for the Most Illustrious
Republic of Venice.



VINCENTIO D'ALESSANDRI.

I HAVE now undertaken to give an account to your most Illustrious Goverment of the regions and kingdoms which are in Persia, of the produce, of the character of the people, of the person of the king, and the qualities of his mind, the government of the Court, the manner and custom of determining the affairs of State, of things of importance in the administration of justice, of the revenue and expenditure, of the number and quality of the Sultans, who are nothing but commanders of the soldiery, and in fine of all that may appear to me worthy of your greatness.

This king, named Tamas,¹ is of the house of Scili, a family illustrious from an antiquity of 980 years, coming in a direct line from Ali,² who was the son-in-law of Mahomet their Prophet. He was the son of Ismail the First, the father of whom was named Serdiadar,³ a man of great goodness and learning, and considered by his people a saint, saying that it had been predicted a thousand years before, that his son should yet be king. Thus, Ismail, after having promised the kingdom to the son of the daughter of the King Ussuocassano, with no fear of God seized it for himself, causing Ismail, King of Persia, by breaking his word, seizes the kingdom. the head of the aforesaid son to be cut off. In this way, although much harassed by the Ottoman Emperors, fortune was favourable to him, as he was the first who began to reduce the greatness of that power, and to recover some of the principal fortresses from Sultan Selim, who was the

¹ Tamasp.

² See Zeno, p. 48.

³ Sheikh Hyder.

fathers of Sultan Saliman. This prince took possession of Coninnt¹ a populous city of the greatest importance, a centre of manufacures, in a most beantiful sitnation, which being strong by nature, is now made almost impregnable by tho industry of the Ottomans, governed by a Pasha of high rank. Dependent on this place are plains and fortresses which are all called Dirabech² by this same Ismail. Ismail had three other sons besides the present king, who was the eldest,—Elias Mirisce,³ Saine Mirisce, and Baiaram Mirisce. Elias was a man of great valour and daring, who during a peace with the king, Barcam, King of Sirvan,⁴ took both his city and country, which is very large and of great importance on the shores of the Caspian Sea.⁵ All

¹ Kara Amid Diarbekr. See Zeno, p. 6.

² Diarbekr.

³ Mirza "prince".

⁴ Shirvan.

⁵ In 1549, Knolles says:—“Solyman had now almost three yeares taken his rest, when it fortuned that Ercaces Imirza, King of Sirvan, moved with tho often injuries of Tamas, his brother, the great Persian king, fled to Solyman at Constantinople, to crava aid of him against his brother. Solyman, glad of such an occasion to works upon, entertained him with all courtesie, and promised to take upon him his quarrell and to protect him against his unnaturall brother; and when he had made all things readies for so great an expedition, passed over into Asia; and after long and painful travell entered at last with a puissant armie into Armenia, and there, in the borders of the Persian kingdome, first besieged the citie of Van, which, after ten daies' siege, was yeelded unto him upon condition that the Persian souldiors therin garrison might, with lifs and libertis, depart with their armes as souldiors; which was at the first by Solyman granted, and so the citie surreuadered. From thence, Solyman sent his chiefe commanders, with a great part of his armie, to burne and spoile the enemie's countrey, which they for a tyme cheerfully performed, and running farre into the countrey strive, as it were, among themselves who should doe most harms; where Imirza, among the rest, for whose sake Solyman had undertaken this warre, was as forward as the best to wast and spoile his brother's kingdome, sparing nothing that came to hand. The best and richest things he got he presented to Solyman, to draw him on still in that warre. But that served not his turns to recover againe his kingdome of Sirvan; for Tamas, without shewing any power to withstand tho Turks, had, after his wonted manner, caused his people to withdraw themselves far into the mountain-

this territory came into the hands of his brother, who failed to show his gratitude towards him for the acquisition of so vast a region, and so was the cause of his becoming his enemy, and joining the Ottomans. He excited Sultan Suliman to march with a great army against his brother, taking in his country the town of Vam, then the principal fortress of Persia, six days distant from Tauris. For this reason the king caused him to be killed, as he had already done to Saine Mirisce, his second brother, fearing lest he also should rise against him, and as their father had already died a natural death, there only remained one brother, who had a principality in India.

And the king, wishing to marry him to one of his daughters, sent to summon him, but the people would never consent to let him go to Casmen, fearing lest he should do him some harm. The sons of this king are eleven, born from different wives, eleven say sons and three daughters; the eldest,

ous countrey, leaving nothing behind them in that wast countrey to relieve them but bare ground; so that the farther the Turks went the more they wanted, without hope of better successse than such as they had before to their losse made proofs of, in their former expeditions into that great kingdom. The conceit whereof so much pierced not the common sonldiors only, but even the captaines themselves: that to make an end of that long and unprofitable warre, taken in hand for another man's good, they consulted among themselves either to kill Iimirza, or else to disgrace him with Solyman; which they so cunningly wrought: some suggesting false suspitiones of his treacherous dealing in the proceeding of that warre; and others, with like craft, under cover of friendship, giving him warning in secret of the danger he was in: the one filling Solyman's head with distrust, and the other, Iimirza's with fear. Briefly, to shut the matter up in their owne tearmes, *they persuaded the hounds to file and the hounds to follow.* Iimirza, doubting some sudden mischiefe, fled for succour to an old acquaintance of his, one of the princes of Chaldea, who most treacherously sent him in bonds to Tamas, his brother, his most cruell enemie, who, glad to have the author of all his troubles with the Turks delivered into his hande, cast him in prison, and that Solyman nor any other should in his behalfe further prosecute the warre, or by his meane hope for victorie, caused him to bo in prisou murthered. In this expedition against the Persian king Solyman was

named Cahahinde¹ Mirisce, aged forty-three years, is a man of a quiet disposition, and does not trouble himself about the affairs of this world, contenting himself with a small domain given him by his father in the region of Carasam, called Cheri. This Cahahinde has three sons, the eldest of whom² is fifteen years of age, of noble aspect and lofty spirit, and is tenderly loved by the king for his virtues, and also because none of his other sons have children.

Ismail, the second son, is forty-one years of age, of robust frame and daring spirit, of great courage, and loving war; he has proved his valour on many occasions against the Ottomans, and particularly against the Bassa of Esrom,³ as, with a small force of cavalry, he broke the army of the Bassa, which was very numerous; and if the latter had not quickly retreated, would have made himself master of the city. On this account, Maesum Bech, the chief vizier of the king, perceived that this young man had ambitious views, and that he had assembled an army without leave from his father, and entered the country of the Ottomans in a time of peace; considering this a want of obedience, he showed the king some letters sent to the Sultans throughout the provinces, inciting them to rise for a war against the Ottomans. In this way he persuaded the king to place him in a fortress, with a guard of Sultans and many soldiers. It is now more than seventeen years ago since he was thrown into prison, and this very year they have taken away the guard, but not set him at liberty. The king, wishing to gratify him, has sent him many beautiful women to be companions to him, but he

occupied a year and nine months: all which time the Turks endured great troubles and were oftentimes hardly distressed by the Persians; until, at last, Solyman himself, wearie of that tedious warre, wherein he had got neither honour nor profit, thought it best to make an end; and therupon returned againe to Constantinople in the yeare 1549.⁴

¹ Mahomet Khodahundah Mirza, Prince Mahomet, the slave of God.

² Afterwards Shah Ahhas, the Great.

³ The Pasha of Erzeroum.

never will have any intercourse with them,¹ saying that he will support with patience his imprisonment by his father, but that it would be too heavy a burden for him to see his children prisoners too ; and that slaves are not worthy of ladies.

And this same Iemail is particularly beloved by his father, but his fear of him is great, seeing how ardently he is desired as ruler by all the people ; and the Sultans are especially afraid of him from his too proud disposition ; so that if he ever comes to succeed to the throne he may have to replace a great number of the chiefs of the soldiery, and to oppose all his brothers, who have taken possession of many portions of the kingdom.

Sultan Caidar Mirisce,² the third son and Lieutenant of his father, is eighteen years old, of small stature, most fascinating and handsome in appearance, and excelling in oratory, elegance and horsemanship, and most beloved by his father ; he is very fond of hearing people discourse about war, although he does not show himself much fitted for that exercise, from his too delicate and almost feminino nature ; he is of good intellect, for his age is grave enough, and shows that he understands the affairs of government, and knows how the other monarchs of the world rule.

Sultans Mnstaffa, Umircan, and Ennit Mirisce, are all three between fourteen and fifteen years old, and show great talent ; the others also, between eight and eleven years, are at Carassam for instruction, except a young one of five years, who is with his father, as at that age he is very cheerful and pleasing. The daughters are all married to relations, to whom great possessions are given with them as dowries. The king is in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and the fifty-first of his reign, is of middling stature, well formed in person and features, although dark, of thick

¹ When he came to the throne he gave way altogether to debauchery.

² Hyder Mirza.

lips, and a grisly beard ; he is more of a melancholy disposition than anything else, which is known by many signs, but principally by his not having come out of his palace for the space of eleven years, nor having gone once to the chaso nor any other kind of amusement, to the great dissatisfaction of his people, who according to the customs of that country, not seeing their king, can only with the greatest difficulty make their petitions, and cannot have a voice in the decisions of justice ; so that day and night they cry aloud before the palace for justice, sometimes a thousand, more or less. And the king, hearing the voices, usually orders them to be sent away, saying that there are judges

Negligence of the king.

Tyranny of the ministers.

deputed in the country, with whom rests the administration of justice, not taking into consideration that those things are against the tyrannical Judges and Sultans, who usually wait in the street to assassinate the people, seen by me as well as by many other people. I have been told as a fact, that in the hook of lawsuits there are written more than ten thousand persons who have been killed during the last eight years. This evil comes principally from the Cuzzi,¹ who, as they do not receive pay, are forced to take bribes, and do so the more, as they see that in the matter of law affairs the king takes no thought or care. Hence it arises that throughout the kingdom the roads are unsafe, and in the houses themselves one runs great dangers, and the Judges nearly all allow themselves to be corrupted by money.

In truth, one may say that this king never had any inclination for war, although he talks a great deal as if he did, being a man of very little courage. And if, indeed, in any case he has shown himself with an army in the field, he did not do so from freewill, but of necessity ; never having dared to show his face to the enemy, so that, to his infinite disgrace, he has lost in his reign the important city of Bahilonia, near the river Euphratos, which belonged to a lord

¹ Judges.

Scharafbech,¹ ruler of some people who are called Chinedi,² who as he was not afforded assistance against the Turks, was chased away by them. Besides, near this is a place called Bichillas,³ a pass of great importance, and the key to the following cities and regions, namely, Chilach, Ergis, Vastan, Adalgeras, Berghieri, Cassan, and Van,⁴ a city and fortress of much importance, and a great extent of country belonging to the above-mentioned places, which would be enough for a great Principality, all of which were lost. But what above all is his greatest enjoyment, are women and money, and these women have acquired such an influence over his mind, that he remains a long time with them deliberating and consulting about affairs of state; and although this king is miserly by nature, with whom one may say that he is a spendthrift, giving them money, jewels, and things in great quantities. The women at times have permission from the king to come out of the palace; those, indeed, who have children, under the pretext of seeing them when they are ill. And I saw the mother of the Sultan Mustaffa Mirisce, who was slightly indisposed, come out with her face covered with a black veil, riding like a man, accompanied by four slaves and six men on foot.

This king uses many contrivances for promoting his pleasures, and for this keeps people on purpose; and those who do most for it are greatly rewarded. He also gives women slaves to the Sultans, that they may not be an expense to him, and when he orders them to be brought to him, they are ornamented with jewels and rich garments. Although, in the things mentioned, the great avarice of the king is plainly to be seen, I shall go on to give to your Excellencies

¹ Sherf Beg.

² Khunneydec Kurds in the Bohtan mountains, near Mosul, tribesmen of Sherf Beg.

³ Bitlis.

⁴ Ichlat, Arjeeesh, Van, Ardel, Jiraz, Pergri, all on the Van Lake. Ichlat was the summer seat of the Akkonilos, and its burial ground is full of the tombs of their chiefs.

some particulars which will make it more evident. This king sent to the East for Boscasinian cloth, and to Carassam for close velvets and other silken fabrics, and to Aleppo for woollen cloths, and from these stuffs he had clothes given as payment to the soldiers, at ten times their value. He will accept any sort of present, however small, nor does he always make one in return. As another instance, a soldier, in time of war, captured the son of a certain Orbech, one of the king's greatest enemies, who has great power on the frontiers of Cinasari, and to whom the king is forced to give every year four hundred talleri, which in our coinage make eight thousand scudi, that he may not molest the caravans coming from India. Another soldier offered to give this soldier, for his prisoner, a village and a thousand scudi, but he would not give him up, and presented him instead to the king, hoping to obtain a greater reward; the king, however, only gave him a horse in exchange for a prisoner of such importance. He shows the greatest liberality in making provisions for people, by appointing them to places which are never paid, except by force of great obligations and presents. He gives up, as a favour, many kinds of tribute, and taxes, but for the most it is not so in reality, since after two or three years, he generally requires all the arrears at once, as he did at the time when I was at his Court, in the territory of Zutta, inhabited by Armenians, who were all exempted from tribute. He suddenly required all the arrears, which caused the ruin of these poor Christians. Sending the majordomo of Sultan Caiadar Mirise,¹ lieutenant of the king, to collect these moneys, he required twenty-five loads of cloths and shawls in addition, as he is accustomed to change his garments fifty times a day, which are afterwards distributed to the people at ten times their value. And no one dares to show reluctance

Great avarice of the King of Persia.

in taking these clothes, but rather to be grateful to be allowed to have them.

This king sells jewels and makes other bargains, buying and selling with the cunning of a small merchant. It is true that six years ago he did a magnanimous act, having taken away all the tolls in his kingdom, which were greater than any others in the world, since he takes a seventh part of the merchandise, besides what is taken by the officials.

Very heavy tolls in Persia.

It has, however, been said, that he had a dream in which the Angels took him by the throat, and asked him whether it was becoming to a king, surnamed the Just, and descended from the house of Ali, to get such immense profits by the ruin of so many poor people; and then ordered him to free the people from them. The king on waking, and full of fear, commanded that in all parts of his empire the tolls should be taken off. By this deed it is evident that he repented; as in the time past, in order to accumulate money, he did thousands and thousands of actions unworthy not only of a king but of a man, which I will not particularize for fear of wearying you with their length; but will go on to speak of his court, which is divided into two departments, one the service of the king, and the other the council of state. The king's service is divided into three classes; first, the women, daughters of Sultans, hought by the king, or received as presents into his harem, which is thns called from them, the Seraglio, as the abode of the women. They are all Georgian and Circassian slaves, and he is attended by them when he sleeps in the palace. When he sleeps out, he is attended by slaves in the lower duties, as in dressing and undressing; these are of the number of forty or fifty, and keep in order the tents and the larder.

Service of the king.

The third class of people who attend him are the noble sons of Sultans, who do not sleep in the royal palace, but come morning and evening from their houses to their attendance, and generally are about one hundred in number.

The king is served by them in turn, by handing water to him, by presenting to him his robes, and by following him when he walks in the gardens. Pay is given by the king to the servants who attend him, from fifteen years of age to twenty-five and even thirty, as long as they have no beard. In this manner, in proportion to their service, he lends some twenty, some twenty-five, and some fifty thousand scudi, at twenty per cent., to some for ten, and others for twenty years, receiving for himself the interest from year to year. They then lend it on good security, at sixty and eighty per cent. to nobles of the Court who are in expectation of receiving rank and appointments from the sovereign, and if it happens that those who have borrowed the money do not compound for the capital with him who has advanced the money, they sell their houses and possessions, nor is any compensation to be had afterwards.

Rewards of the nobles. The rewards of service of the nobles are the appointments of the Court as centurions and captains of the king's guard, also Sultanates, which mean governorships of the provinces; these all belong to the service of the person of the king.

Order of the Council. The Council is really one body, in which the king is the sole President, with the intervention of twelve Sultans, men of long experience in affairs of State. It is remarkably well attended by those Sultans who from time to time come to the Court, and who all enter the Council, which is held every day except when the king goes to the bath, or has his nails cut; the time of this council in summer as well as winter is from the twenty-second hour of the day, and according to the matters in hand, continues till the third, fourth, and sixth hour of the night. The king sits upon a Masthean, not very high from the ground, and behind his shoulders his sons sit when they are at Court, especially Sultan Caidar Mirise,¹ who, as Lieutenant of his father,

¹ Hyder Mirza.

does not leave the king's sight. The Sultan Councillors, who are four in number, named viceroys, sit in front. The king introduces the subjects, and disconrses about them, asking their opinions from the Sultans, and each one as he Council states his opinion, rises, and comes near the king, speaking alond, that he may be heard by his colleagues. If, in the course of argument, the king hears anything which strikes him, he has it noted by the grand Councillors, and very often takes a note of it with his own hand ; and thns in their order in which the king inquires of them, the Sultans give their opinous. When the king has no donht about the matter in question, it is settled at the first Council ; and if he has doubts, he hears the arguments of the full Council, and then settles it after private consideration. In the number of the consulting Sultans is included the Cnrzibassa, chief of the king's guard, although he may net be a Sultan. The grand Councillors have no vote, and can say nothing unless they are called upon by the king ; they, although of great dignity, cannot rise to the rank of Sultan, nor to any other appointments belonging to the military eervice, even if they are nobly born.

Knighthood is really more for deserving than for noble persons. While the Council is sitting every night, ther is also a gnard of three hundred armed Cnrzi, who, when the Council is up, do not leave, hut remain to guard the king.

As it eecms to me that I have at last discoursed enough abont the king's court, I will go on to speak of the guard of the state, of the government and capitals of the provinces and the pursuits of the people.

The contry possessed by the King of Persia is bordered on tho east by the Indies, which are between the rivers Ganges and Ondo (Indus); on the west by tho river Tigris, which divides Persia from Mesopotamia, now called Diar-hech, and running towards the frontiers of Bahilonia enters Boundar-
ies of Per-sia.

the Euphrates,¹ then flowing together in one bed through Bolsora,² into the Persian Gulf, towards the south ; on the north by the Caspian Sea, called also the sea of Bacen,³ and by Tartary of the great Cattai. In this country there are the following regions possessed by this king, namely, Sunan,⁴ the ancient kingdom of the Medes, Aras, near Greater Armenia, Carassan, Chiessen,⁵ Cheri,⁶ Diargomet, and Gilari,⁷ which is now in a distrhbed state, owing to an insurrection of the people. There are fifty-two cities in this realm : the chief are Tanris, metropolis of the whole kingdom, Carbin, Curassam, Naesimen,⁸ Samachi,⁹ and others I will not name, but must mention that there is not one in the whole kingdom which is walled, but all are open ; the buildings are wretched, and the houses all of mud and cut straw, mixed together ; neither are there mosques nor anything else to adorn those cities, although their sites are generally beautiful. The roads are disagreeable, from the great quantity of dust and mud by turns, rendering them difficult for travelling.

Abundance of corn.
Agriculture or irrigation of the fields in Persia.

There is a very great abundance of corn, and generally the plains are beautiful ; in the country they are accustomed to conduct the water to irrigate the fields, one week in one place, and the other in another, and thus they give sufficient water to the grain and vines. In spite of the scarcity of rain, in the ascents and other places, where water cannot be brought, they grow grass. There is also a great quantity of live stock, and particularly of sheep, of such a size, that I had seen some in Tanris, whose tails weighed ten histi, or rather ten battuarri, which in our weights make nine pounds. With all this the supply has to be immense, as no people in the world eat more than the Porsians,

¹ Called then the Shat-ul-Arab.

² Basrat or Bassora.

³ Baku.

⁴ Shirran.

⁵ Yezd.

⁶ Herat.

⁷ Ghilan.

⁸ Nakshivan.

⁹ Schamachi.

it being the custom for both old and young to eat four times a day, the excellency of the water helping the digestion.

In the cities and towns they do not use many ornaments; everyone sleeps on the ground, and those who are of some position use a mattress on the carpet, others a simple mat. The women are mostly ugly, though of fine features and noble dispositions, their customs not being so refined as those of the Turkish ladies. They wear robes of silk, veils ^{and their habits.} on their heads, and show their faces openly. They have pearls and other jewels on their heads, and on this account pearls are in great demand in these regions, as it is not very long since they came into use.

The reverence and love of the people for the king, notwithstanding the things mentioned above, which make one think he ought to be hated, are incredible, as they worship him not as a king, but as a god, on account of his descent from the line of Ali, the great object of their veneration. Those who are in sickness or hardships do not call to aid the name of God so much as that of the king, making vows to present him with some gift, and some go to kiss the doors of the palace, that house being considered fortunate which is able to get some cloth or shawl from the king, or else some water in which he has washed his hands, which they consider a preventive of fever. To pass over many other things I might say about this matter, I will only mention that not only the people, but his own sons and the sultans speak to him as if they could not find epithets worthy of such greatness, saying, "Thou art the living faith, and in thee we believe." And not only in the neighbouring cities can one observe these signs of reverence, but also in the distant towns and places many hold that besides having the prophetic spirit, he has the power of raising the dead and of working other like miracles, saying that, as Ali, their chief saint, had eleven male children, this king has received ^{Supersti-}
^{tion of the Persian people.} from the Majesty of God the same favour as Ali. It is true

that in the city of Tauris he is not held in such veneration as in the other places, for which reason it is said that he has left it and gone to stay at Casin,¹ seeing that he was not esteemed there as he wished. The city is divided into two factions, one called Nausitai, and the other Himicavartu, which comprehend the nine municipal districts, five in one and four in the other, and all the citizens, about twelve thousand in number. These factions had always been at enmity, and slaughtered each other every day, nor could the king or any other put a stop to it, as the hatred between them had lasted more than thirty years.

^{A curious and remarkable case.} Certainly, one may say that the chiefs of districts are more masters of the city than the king, since the origin of their discord was that the price of meat having risen a little higher than usual, the chiefs of the districts went to the palace of the sultans and killed all the servants, and the sultan himself, if there was anything against him; then they went to the houses of those servants who were not present, broke in the doors, killed them, and carried their heads to the palace. Nor did they do these things secretly, so that from that time no attempt has been made against their freedom; so much so, that in past times they have slain sultans only to preserve some one of their privileges.

And since this city is the metropolis of the whole empire, it seems to me that I ought to say something about it.² This city, therefore, is situated in a large plain not far from some hills, and in the neighbourhood of a height where used to be an ancient castle, as may be seen from the ruins; its circumference, although it has no walls, is fifteen miles and more in a long shape. From a place called Nassi, as far as the gate of the city, towards Cashin, is almost a short day's journey in distance, with, however, numberless gardens and open places. The streets are forty-five in number, and in each there is a grove of trees, so that one may say

¹ Kasween.

² See Angiolotto.

that there is a garden for every street. The air is most salubrious in winter as well as summer. The fraits surpass those of every other country in goodness and quality. This city is commercial, as in it the goods and caravans of all parts of the kingdom come together, but its business has suffered much from war. As, for instance, in the past, two (loads) of silk, with which the country abounds, were worth more than four hundred sequius, and are now worth only two hundred. The merchandize which comes via Ormus, is takeu care of by no one, as the route used to bo through Aleppo, whero there is now no traffic. They are still brought to Constantiuplo by laud, and theuce taken to Bogdania,¹ being dispersed through Poland, Deumark, Sweden, and othor places, bnt the expenses are so great, that the profits are very small, in spite of the risk, as told me by some Armenians whom I met in Tanris, and afterwards in Tripoli. Commerce was still on the downhill road, until an Eуглish gentleman,² named Mr. Thomas, of London, arrived in this city with a great quautity of cloth through Muscovy, with the title of ambassador from the queen. Having died, the rulor of Siraan³ took away all his things, so that his companions had to spend a great deal of money to get them back; so that, on this account, one cannot hope to negotiate or continuo traffic with these countrics.

In the kiugdom of Carassam⁴ they worked cloths of silk Silken goods.
and especially velvets, which are equal in excellense to the Genoese; in other parts they work on smooth stuffs and damask, but not with the finish they have in Italy. In this country of Porsia there are no mines of gold and silver or Mines.
of copper, but ouly of irou; so that those who introduce silver from Turkey gain twouty per cent., gold fourteen and

¹ Moldavia.

² Alcocke, or Anthony Jenkinson, who came with a letter from Queen Elizabeth to Shah Tamasp in 1561.

³ Shirvan.

⁴ Khorassan.

fifteen per cent., and copper sometimes eighteen and sometimes twenty per eent.; it is true that there are great expenses, as the exportation of metals is forbidden.

No duties in Persia. This king, unlike other states, gets none of his revenues from duties, as they do not exist in this kingdom, but has a sixth part of the produce of the land, of corn and other plants; on vines and grass land, for one thousand archi of ground an annual payment of sixty-six pieces of gold, which ia rather more than four sequins of gold. Archi are a measure, of which ten go to an ordinary field; so that one paya less than half a ducat for a field, and houses pay five per cent. on their rent. Christians in some regions pay five, in others seven and eight ducats, per house, according to the goodness and wealth of the country they inhabit. And on animals, for every herd of forty sheep he receives a tribute of fifteen bisti a year, which make three ducats of our money, hut which male animals do not pay; for every cow they paid the sum of two ducats a-year of our money, and so on; these make up the income of the king, which is said to amount to three millions of gold. The expenditure, which really comes from the treasury, is very small, as he is under obligation to pay only five thousand soldiers, called Curzi, who act as his body-guard, and are selected from the best and finest men in the realm; nor these even does he pay in money, hut gives them uniforms and horses, putting on them whatever value he thinks fit in advance for their salaries.

Male animals do not pay tribute in Persia. He has eleven sons, and each of them has a sumptuous and separate court, but no one knows what he gives them. There are fifty sultans, by whom all the soldiery of the kingdom is made up, as it is divided into fifty parts, except that which he and his sons keep, which is not subject to governors. Those same commanders have the charge of from five hundred to three thousand horsemen each, and from the regions assigned to them got as large an income

as will support their retainors and cavalry, and enable them to muster them frequently; so that the king, in case of war, has nothing else to do but to send messengers to the sultans a month or two before, who, as they are always prepared, come without difficulty to the rendezvous. In all, they may amount to sixty thousand cavalry, notwithstanding that on paper the muster is much higher. They are generally men of fine aspect, robust, well-made, of great courage, and very warlike. They use for arms swords, lances, arquebuses, which all the soldiers can use; their arms also are superior and better tempered than those of any other nation. The barrels of the arquebuses are generally six spans long, and carry a ball a little less than three ounces in weight. They use them with such facility, that it does not hinder them drawing their bows nor handling their swords, keeping the latter hung at their saddle-bows till occasion requires them. The arquebus then is put away behind the back, so that one weapon does not impede the use of another.

The horses are so well trained and are so good and hard-
eome that there is now no need to have them brought from
other countries; this has happened since the arrival of
Sultan Bayazeth,¹ who fled into Persia with some magnifi-
cent Caramanian and Arab horses, which were given away
throughout the country, and afterwards when he was exe-
cuted by order of the king, there were a thousand horses
and mares in existence. On this account there has never

¹ Bayezid, the son of Suleyman, after his rebellion in 1556, fled for safety to the Court of Tahmas, who received him with favour at first; but, his mind becoming embittered against him, caused his followers to be dispersed and slain, and Bayezid himself to be cast into prison. Suleyman used all the means in his power to have Bayezid delivered into his hands, but Tamas would not consent; but afterwards, in consideration of a large sum of money, agreed to allow him to be made away with. Bayezid, accordingly, was strangled, with his four sons. (From Augustus Busbequius Legationis Turcicæ, epist. 4.)

been so fine a breed, and the Ottomans even have not got one like it. This Bayazeth also brought thirty pieces of artillery, which were taken to San Marco, towards the Caspian Sea; but not so the money and other spoils.

The strength of the king lies in his having caused them to lay waste the country on the frontiers of the Turk on every side for six days' journey in distance, and to pull down every castle in the district, in order to strengthen himself by the Turk having no inclination to seize and hold it. I shall now speak of the relations and understandings between him and the neighbouring prince.

Strength
of the
King of
Persia.

Claims of
the King
of Persia
to coun-
tries
taken
from him
by the
Ottoman.

Allegi-
ance and
depend-
ence.

Chindi.
inhabit-
ants of
the moun-
tains of
Armenia,
and their
forces.

Conclu-
sion.

This king has pretensions and claims to the countries taken from him by the Ottoman emperors, on one side from the river Euphrates to Babilonia, on the west to the countries of Benhech¹ and Lesser Armenia, in which are comprised Urfa,² Merdin,³ Bira,⁴ Adilicus Bitis,⁵ Van, Vastan, Cassan,⁶ Calasci, Haligan, Baiiburdt,⁷ and other places. This king has the allegiance and dependence of a Christian named Lentul⁸ Deghi, Prince of the Georgians, who is his tributary, and pays every year twenty thousand ducats; he has his state near the Caspian Sea. This prince, in case of war with the Ottomans, could assist with ten thousand Georgian horse, all robust and valiant men.

There are also some Turkish chiefs named Chindi inhabiting certain mountains in Lesser Armenia, towards the Mediterranean;⁹ and these Chindi, when all united, may amount to seven or eight thousand cavalry, of great excellence, and always eager to fight against the Turk.

This is all, most Serene Prince and most Illustrious

¹ Diarbekr.

² Orfa.

³ Mardin.

⁴ Bir.

⁵ Aradh el Jivaz and Bitlis.

⁶ Kashan.

⁷ Baiboort.

⁸ Lentul Ogli, or Levent Ogli.

⁹ These I suppose to be the Kizzilbashes of the Deyrsun and Kara Dagh, near Marash. They are still inveterate enemies of the Turks, though inhabiting their territory. Their religious tenets assimilate more with the Persians.

Noblemen, that in the space of one and twenty months passed since the day I left the feet of your Highnesses to go to Persia, till my retrrn, I have diligently observed of the affairs of that realm.

FINIS.

ERRATA AND NOTES.

Page 5, Note, for "taneel", read "tawil", long. Uzun means long in Turkish, and Zeno is right in giving it the secondary sense of great; the Turks claim Artaxerxes Longimanus to have been of Turkish race, because with them long arms are esteemed a sign of power and greatness.

Page 8, for "Ikindjis", read "Akinjys".

Page 24, "ne dentider", probably "neb deria-dir", what a sea it is, Turkish, not Persian.

Page 70, "Ocotta Can", probably "Oktai Khan".

Page 79, Note, for "Quzvaasi", read "Kas-ovahay".

Page 81, "Arphaemiler", Arpa-eminy, master of the barley.

Page 136, "bosdocan", buzdngan, a mace, a word nearly obsolete in Constantinople; it is preserved in Wallachia.

Page 143. These columns are still standing, and have some inscriptions, apparently Phoenician, upon them.

Page 207. Sheibani Khan; for an account of his life and death, see M. Vambery's *History of Bokhara*.

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